UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

"Language is what you do": Multi-contextual Discourses and Language Conceptualizations of Co-curricular Teachers

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Elizabeth Anne Mainz

Committee in charge:

Professor Jenny Cook-Gumperz, Chair

Professor Judith Green

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June 2016

The dissertation of Elizabeth Anne Mainz is approved.

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June 2016

“Language is what you do”: Multi-contextual Discourses and Language Conceptualizations of Co-curricular Teachers

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I dedicate this dissertation to the co-curricular teachers in my own life:

- band directors who taught me how to create art with others, especially Mr. Miles Mortensen, Mr. Ken Kallman, and Mrs. Carol Geldert;

- choir directors who taught me the importance of harmony, especially Ms. Joyce Gustafson;
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    - Dr. Andrew LaFave (my husband, who taught band, orchestra, and choir for 5 years),
    - Mrs. Carol Mainz (my grandmother, who taught inclusive music for 30+ years),
    - Mr. Dayton Lauthen (my grandfather, who taught band, and, as a principal and superintendent, expanded music and arts programs), and
    - Mrs. Mary Gorder (my mother, who was a music specialist in elementary and middle schools for 30+ years).

There is a direct line between the influences of these amazing teachers and the writing of this dissertation. To honor the positive influences they have had in my life, I dedicate this dissertation to them in the hopes of furthering the study of co-curricular teachers' influence on the lives of their students.

VITA OF Elizabeth Anne Mainz
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Graduate Coursework

Facilitator for ED 265C: Teacher Inquiry and Classroom Practice (2015-2016)
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Facilitated a Masters of Education candidate writing and peer review group

Teaching Assistant for ED 214A: Introduction to Statistics (2013- 2015)
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Designed and taught a lab section on utilization of SPSS in statistical research, interacted with students on conceptual and practical questions, graded student work.

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High School Coursework

English Teacher, Grades 9-12 (2008-2012)
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ELL (English Language Learner) Teacher, Grades 9-12 (2008-2012)
Lincoln High School; Las Vegas, NV.

Choir Teacher, Grades 9-12 (2011-2012)
Lincoln High School; Las Vegas, NV.

Middle School Coursework

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[1] As the participant data from this dissertation came from this high school, the name has been changed here to protect the anonymity of the participants.

Teacher for English, Arts, Creative Writing, and Post-Secondary Exploration Courses, Grades 9-12 (2000-2005)
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2011-2012 **Faculty Advisor** for the Lincoln High School Literary Magazine, Las Vegas, NV

2008-2011 **Faculty Advisor** for the ELL Newcomers' Club at Lincoln High School, Las Vegas, NV

2008-2010 **Faculty Advisor** for the Student Council Class of 2012 at Lincoln High School, Las Vegas, NV

2007-2008 **Head Coordinator and Facilitator** of the New Teacher Mentoring Program at J. Harold Brinley Middle School, Las Vegas, NV

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2005-2008 **Department Representative** on the School Improvement Plan Team for J. Harold Brinley Middle School, Las Vegas, NV

2003-2005 **Director and Coordinator** of Theater Productions at Farmington Middle School West, Farmington, MN

HONORS & AWARDS

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2013 **Nomination for Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award**
Committee on Outstanding Teaching Assistants
Academic Senate, University of California, Santa Barbara
The award recognizes the contributions of graduate students to the teaching and learning process of UC Santa Barbara
Nominees show evidence of creativity, innovative teaching efforts, extra effort in improving classes and teaching effectiveness; nominees have rapport with students, are available and willing to hold special help sessions, stimulate independent critical thinking and demonstrate excellence in teaching
Nominated by a member of the campus community

2012-2013 **Entering Students Block Grant Fellowship**
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A department-wide competitive academic year grant
The award is based on the academic and professional potential of the applicant and on the recommendation of the faculty advisor
Awarded by the Education Department Fellowship Committee

2012 **Most Approachable Teacher**
Lincoln High School, Las Vegas, NV
Voted by Lincoln High School Class of 2012
The award recognizes the approachability of the teacher both in and out of the classroom

2005 **"Annie Sullivan" Award for Teaching**
St. Olaf College Upward Bound Program, Northfield, MN
Awarded by colleagues and fellow teachers in the program
The award recognizes the recipient's commitment to education for all students, and the recipient's drive towards excellence and creativity in teaching

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2010-2015 TESL Endorsement
2005-2015 Nevada 7-12 English/Language Arts Teaching License
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ABSTRACT

"Language is what you do": Multi-contextual Discourses and Language Conceptualizations of Co-curricular Teachers

by

Elizabeth Anne Mainz

This telling case study (Mitchell, 1984) situated within a sociolinguistic frame (Hymes, 1967; Fishman, 1997) explored what counts as language in education for a particular environment. The attitudes teachers have about languages, specifically the languages that students speak, as well as the institutional language ideologies present in the environment, influence the interactions between teachers and students (e.g. Gal, 1998; Spitulnik, 1998). These interactions in turn affect students positively or negatively (e.g. Lei, 2003; Meador, 2005; Menard-Warwich, 2008). The problem was that not enough is known about teachers' thoughts towards languages.

In order to examine this problem, this study focused on the following three research questions:

1) What is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made?
2) How do ideas about language get inscribed in the textual world of educational policies?

3) How do co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in education, specific to the contexts they define?

The questions each necessitated specific methodological considerations. The study took place in a high school in Las Vegas, NV, with three co-curricular teachers. The methodological procedures entailed ethnographic description of the macro-environment, a discourse analysis of state and district level policy texts, and ethnographic interviews with individual participants, focused around the creation of a concept map.

It was found that individual co-curricular teachers, although influenced by the language ideological stances found in district/state texts, were conceptualizing language in their educational practice very differently than the textual policy world. Co-curricular teachers framed language as social, interactional, and a way to create group membership among students. They focused on language-in-use rather than language as ethno-nationally based. These findings have implications for individual teacher awareness of their language attitudes, as well as teacher education programs and the educational research field.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study focused on the idea of what counts as language in education. First and foremost, context must be established. There are multiple contexts and multiple discourses to examine in order to see and understand language as a concept – macro and micro contexts, institutions as well as individuals. In this introduction, I outlined the problem of interest, the questions that emerged, explanatory theories, the research design and decisions made.

The Problem

Students and teachers interact with each other to varying degrees and in varying contexts. In the case of multilingual students, the interactions have been shown to be influenced by the teacher's attitudes towards language, especially if these attitudes line up with problem-oriented ideologies (Ruiz, 1984; Wiley, 2007). Research has shown that if a teacher believes students' home languages are a problem in their classroom, students struggle (Lei, 2003; Meador, 2005; Menard-Warwick, 2008). Even when teachers approach students with what they define as resource-based language attitudes, they still frame interactions within a problem-oriented discourse (Valdés, 1998; Ngo, 2010; Helmer, 2011; Razfar, 2012).

These problems have been investigated within the traditions of multilingual studies -- the study of English language learners in schools -- focusing on the impact the deficit model and problem-oriented ideological practices have had on this student group. But without first understanding how language is inscribed in educational contexts and how the teachers who interact with students inscribe language in their own thinking, the deficit model seeped into the very framing of the problem itself. The focus was on what teachers did not know, what

they did wrong or right, how their good intentions did not measure up – in other words, their deficits as educators.

Therefore, I reframed the problems as follows:

- a lack of understanding of the ways in which teachers think about languages;
- a lack of understanding of the awareness teachers have of the influences on their thinking; and
- a need for understanding the problem from multiple theoretical perspectives, in order to step outside of deficit thinking altogether.

In order to speak to the reframed problem, the study was situated within the tradition of sociolinguistics, which acknowledges both the existence of the deficit model in education in the United States (Hymes, 1980), as well as the importance of focusing on what people *are doing* rather than prescribing what people *should do* in connection to language (Fishman, 1997). This necessarily shifted the argument, and led to specific research questions, which were intended to study teachers without assigning negative worth to their thinking.

The Questions

First there was the overarching research theme: what counts as language in education? In all of the problems investigated above, how was language being framed/defined/constructed? There were multiple contexts to consider in the exploration of this theme: macro-contexts, including economic, geographical, historical, and political; and intertwining micro-contexts – the thinking of teachers, as influenced by these macro-contexts and their individual experiences as people, teachers, employees, artists, speakers, and other intersecting identities.

When considering these multiple contexts, three research questions emerged:

4) What is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made?
5) How do ideas about language get inscribed in the textual world of educational policies?
6) How do co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in education, specific to the contexts they define?

The first two research questions established the macro-contexts within which the participants in this study teach and live. They focused on the prescribed understanding of language in the macro-contexts that might influence the thinking of teachers in the third questions. The third research question was the main focus of the study – to better understand how co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in their teaching and as influenced by the macro-contexts. In selecting co-curricular teachers, I used Creswell's (2013) notion of purposive sampling – a sampling strategy whereby the researcher chooses participants based on their relationship to the phenomena under consideration – to find participants for this study. I chose to focus on co-curricular teachers here both for the extended amounts of time they spend with students, and their lack of direct involvement in prescriptive language practices in a school. These teachers would be influenced by the macro-contexts as explored in the first two questions, but their understanding of language in education might extend beyond the prescriptive and into the realm of the descriptive. I will return to the importance of co-curricular teachers as participants shortly.

Through these three research questions, I arrived at multiple understandings of what counts as language in education across multiple contexts. The following figure illustrates the relationship the research questions have to each other and to the larger research theme:

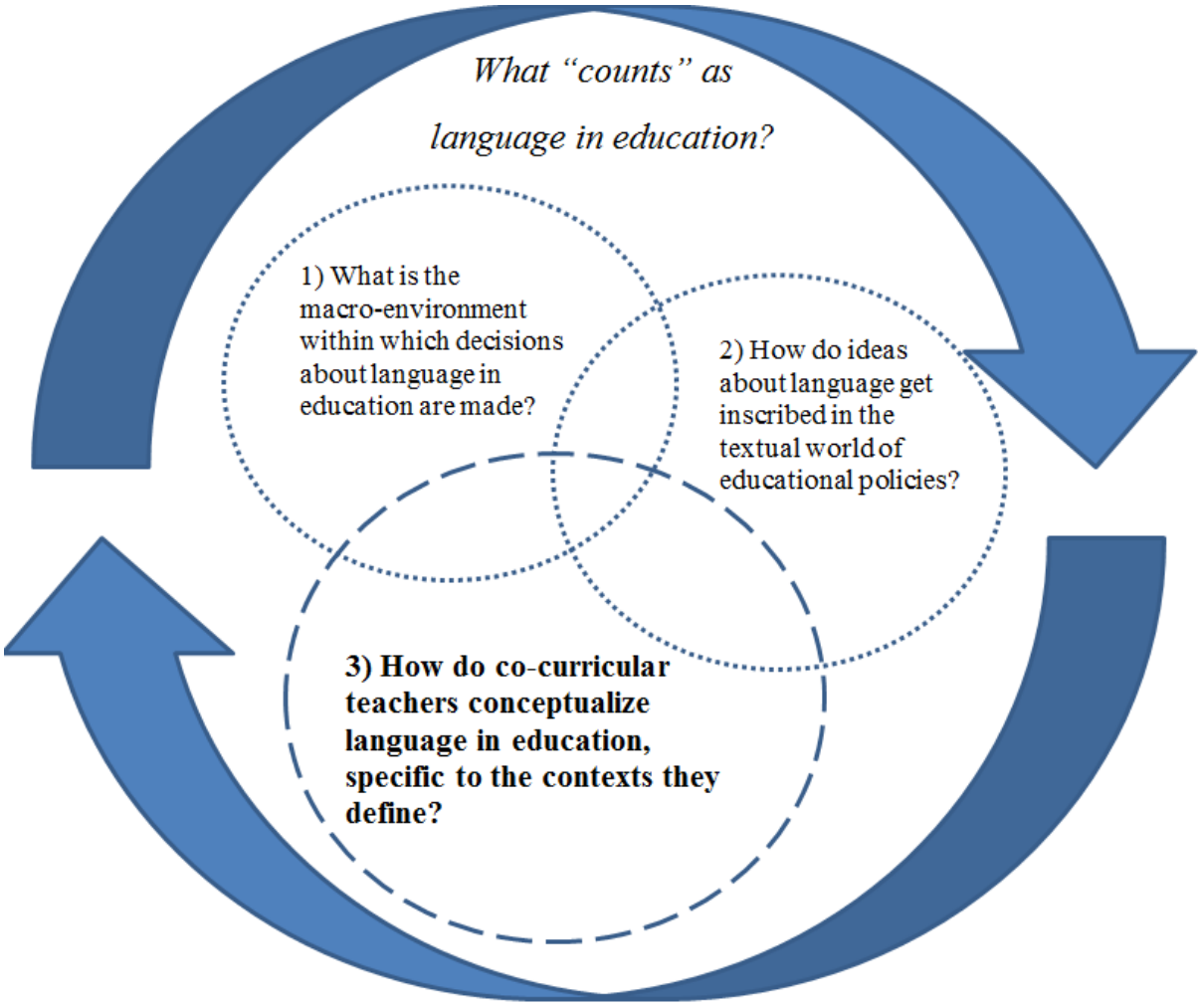


Figure # 1. Conceptual map of the research theme and research questions, showing directionality, relationality.

This figure also served as a "road map" for the process outlined within this study, an analytical approach advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994). At all levels, the research theme was investigated, as shown by the recursive arrows. The research questions overlapped to show not only the intertwined nature of ideologies and attitudes, but also to show the distinct findings emerging from each. The order in which the research questions will be presented show the narrowing and specification that occurred with each progression (Maxwell, 2012) – beginning with the largest macro-context (the shifting and changing

nature of the state of Nevada and the city of Las Vegas, as examined economically and historically), to the more specific educational context within the state and city (as examined through the texts constructed by upper echelons of the educational system for an audience of teachers), to the specific thinking of co-curricular teachers in one school in Las Vegas, NV (specific to the contexts they define rather than just the contexts I see as the researcher). Throughout this study, I returned to this conceptual map in order to orient the reader to the line of logic as it progressed.

The Methods

In order to fully examine the questions as established, methodological consideration needed to be given to I have included a table to more clearly show the questions, the context(s) in which the question would be visible, the method that would make it visible, the types of data collected, and the reasoning behind the choices made.

Table #1.
Line of logic towards methodological choices

Question	**Context(s)**	**Method**	**Type of Data**	**Reasoning**
What is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made?	Geographic	Ethnographic Description	Census data	To establish the macro-environment, I must look at the main themes that emerge throughout the history of the state and city, from their creation to their current time.
	Economic		Maps	
	Historical		Historical texts	
	Demographic		Newspaper articles	
			My own experiences	
How do ideas about language get inscribed in the textual world of	Political	Discourse Analysis	State level procedural texts	To understand the textual world, I must analyze the texts that are

educational policies?		Content Analysis	District level procedural texts	created within the macro-context (state, district) and handed down to individuals (teachers).
		Multimedia Analysis	State and District Websites	
How do co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in education, specific to the contexts they define?	Individual participants	Ethnographic Interviews	Conversations	To know what individuals think, I must talk to them directly, and ask them direct questions about their thoughts Given the review of the literature, it is necessary to talk to individuals who spend the most time interacting with students: co-curricular teachers.
		Concept Maps	Transcripts of the conversations	
			Concept Maps	

The theories behind the methods will be outlined more thoroughly in chapter three. At this time, it is imperative to turn back to the question of worth – specifically, before proceeding into the study itself, the worth of co-curricular teachers as the main participants.

An Argument for Co-Curricular Teachers as Participants

Why study co-curricular teachers? Additionally, what does it mean to be called a co-curricular teacher, and how do they differ from more frequently studied content teachers? Before examining the term and their worth more closely, the reasons for studying co-curricular teachers in a study about language are as follows:

- they spend a significant amount of time they spend interacting with students

    - the literature that I presented in chapter two suggested that interactions with teachers influence students' educational and personal experiences, so therefore study teachers that spend the most time with students
- their content has distance from prescriptive language practices
    - co-curricular contents, even those on language learning such as Latin, are not focused on prescribing linguistic behavior to students' everyday interactions, and as such, may make visible the thinking of teachers outside a deficit model
- their lived experiences represent a gap in the literature
    - co-curricular teachers are not the focus of studies on language, and as such, little is known about how members of this influential group of teachers think about language

Co-curricular teachers are teachers who teach both during and after school. Note here that they "teach" both during and after school – academic worth is bestowed upon both contexts by the term itself. At the close of the twentieth century, the term changed from "extra-curricular teachers" -- implying working outside the boundaries of school, as something not necessary to the general educational experience -- to "co-curricular" (NAfME, 2016). This change better reflected the connection of co-curricular content to the general school curriculum, and also to revalue the role of co-curricular content and teachers in the educational progress of students. The term is in wide circulation among practitioner groups (e.g. Anne Arundel County Public Schools, n.d.; Marysville Joint Unified School District, 2013; Oklahoma Department of Education, 2014; United States Army Installation

Management Command, 2016; Wisconsin Department of Education, 2014), and, as seen in this "Dear colleague" letter from the Office of Civil Rights, is in wide federal use as well:

> Co-curricular refers to programs that have components occurring during classroom time as well as outside-of-class requirements such as music courses with required concerts that happen outside of the normal school day. This term is meant to distinguish those out-of-class requirements from extracurricular activities that are not typically tied to a specific course. Many researchers include co-curricular activities in their investigations of the effects of extracurricular involvement on student achievement because the activities happen outside of normal classroom time. However, because these programs are fundamentally part of a student's school day, OCR considers co-curricular programs alongside other academic programs in evaluating the comparable provision of programs across the schools in a school district (Lhamon, 2014, p. 4).

The following content areas are defined as co-curricular in the Clark County School District:

- Fine Arts, such as
    - Band
    - Orchestra
    - Choir
    - Theater
    - Visual Arts
- Language Arts, as separate from English Language Arts, such as
    - Latin
    - Forensics

For all of these content areas, there are curricula that exist within the traditional school day, and then there are activities that exist after the traditional school day has ended. The time spent working with students during the school day is similar to that of other content teachers (such as English, Math, Social Studies, or Science), but it is the additional, extended time spent working with students after school that sets co-curricular teachers apart. The co-curricular teachers in this study, for example, reported that the time they spend with students outside of the school day ranges from about 10 hours a week, when their groups are less active, up to 40 additional hours a week, when their groups are more active. Again, it is important to stress that these hours are in addition to the time spent with students during the regular school day.

Also, there is continuity between content during the day and after school that is different from other content teachers who supervise a student activity. A co-curricular teacher is markedly different than, for example, an English teacher who supervises student council or a Social Studies teacher who coaches basketball. Co-curricular teachers teach the same content and students during the day as after the day – it is all part of one job, rather than separate positions.

It is common for co-curricular teachers to have to "stand up" for their content and their role in schools. The National Association for Music Education dedicates an entire section of their website to guiding teachers in valid arguments for music education programs (2016). The section includes statistical data on achievement of students involved in music programs, anecdotal reports from students, teachers, and administrators, and a "game plan" on how to best advocate for the worth of your program to administrators, parents, and community members. The Educational Theatre Association has a similar webpage as well on

advocacy at the local, state, and national levels as well as standards resources to instruct theater teachers on framing their content with burgeoning standards to prove the continuing worth of their work (Educational Theatre Association, 2015).

The advocacy for both groups focuses on illustrating the importance of their content and the work they do to the educational experiences of students, which makes it distinctly different from the types of advocacy found in groups like the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) or Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Advocacy for those groups focuses on the ways in which they teach, not whether they should be teaching at all. Co-curricular teachers and their content have been positioned as "extra" for years, but even those at the highest levels of government recognize the worth of what they do:

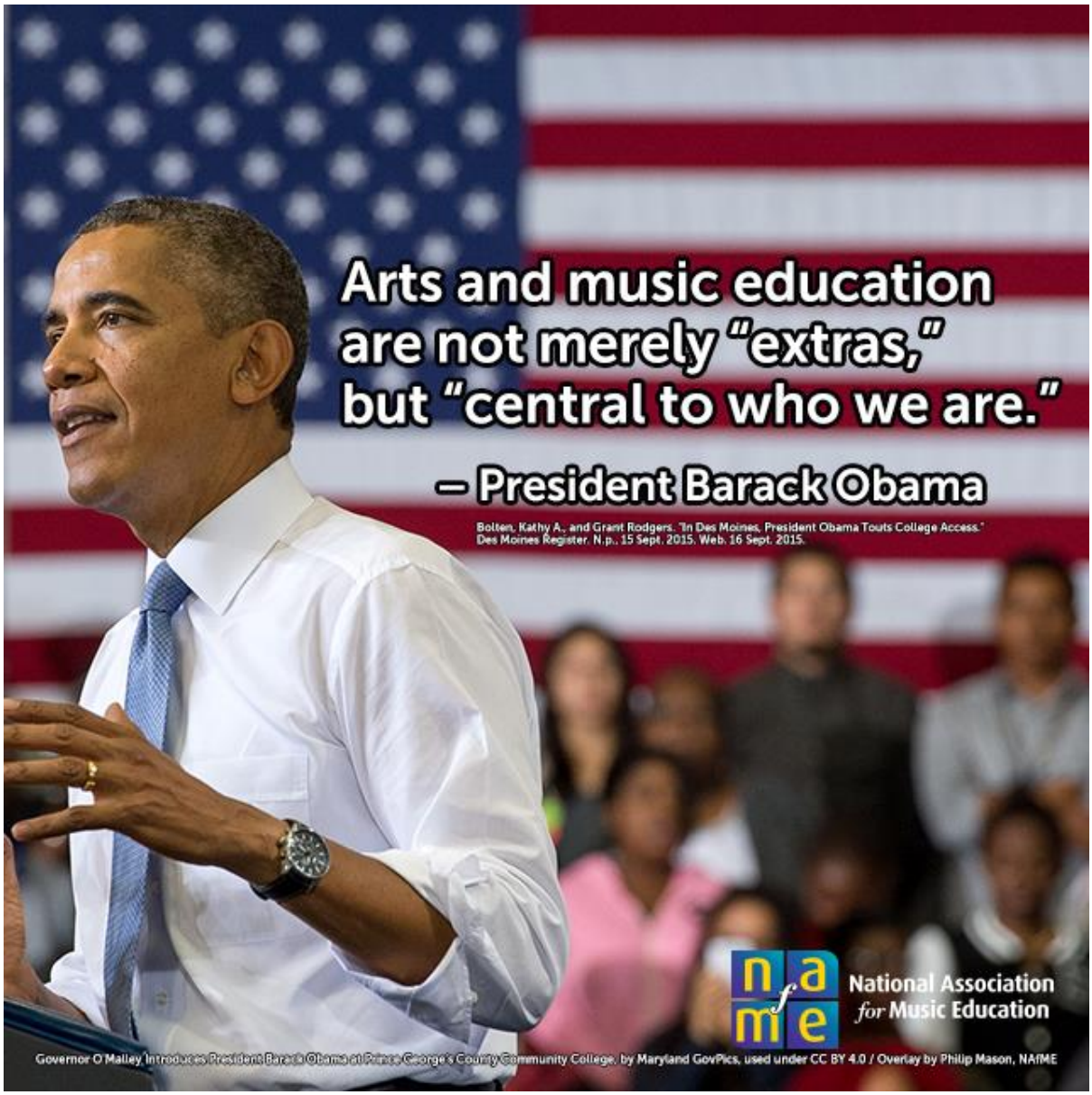


Figure #2. A meme from the National Association for Music Education Facebook page. This meme has 1,312 likes, 16 comments, and has been shared 809 times.

Co-curricular teachers engage in work that adds to the overall education of students, and, as important to this study specifically, spend much more time with students than other content teachers do. Therefore, I take as given that there is both worth in the teaching that co-curricular teachers do, as well as worth in studying them. To dismiss them as research

participants would be to deny their worth in the larger educational context, and to continue to position them as "extra," something that I will not do.

A Reflexive Turn

Because reflexivity is central to the qualitative enterprise (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and to taking an ethnographic stance (Green, Skukauskaite, & Baker, 2012), I examined my own role in the context of this study. I was a teacher in the Clark County School District for seven years, for a time at the same school as the teachers in this study. I have worked with each of these teachers, and have visited or been involved in their classrooms. Although I taught English and English Language Learner (ELL) courses for the most part, I was also the choir teacher for a time, as well as a piano accompanist for the theater and band programs and a faculty guest in Varsity Quiz matches. I also spent extra time outside of school with the band and theater teacher especially, since my husband was also a band director in the school district. I was familiar with all three participants both inside and outside of the classroom.

In addition to my familiarity with the participants themselves, I was familiar with the school in which they worked, and with the district as a whole. I also worked for a short time as the ELL facilitator in their school, and had insider knowledge about the ways in which language was inscribed in texts to teachers. I lived in Las Vegas at the time of the 2008 housing crisis, as did all the participants, and experienced first-hand how the economic shifts in the area affected the work that teachers do. My own experiences working at the school site and teaching in Las Vegas, and the ethnographic "emic" knowledge I began with, informed the ways in which I framed and constructed this study.

The rest of the study was constructed to follow the logic laid out earlier in this chapter: discovering what counts as language in education by focusing on three specific

questions and contexts. In Chapter Two, I explored the existing literature within and outside of multilingual and critical studies as it pertained to the research theme and questions. This included an in-depth examination of the explanatory theory of language ideologies, as a method of understanding the ways in which language is inscribed in the macro-contexts of this study. Alongside language ideologies, I also presented ideas from several theoretical traditions about how individuals think and conceptualize language. Chapter Two also included detailed arguments drawn from empirical studies towards the importance of attitudes towards language in teacher/student interactions, as well as towards the purposeful choice to study co-curricular teachers.

In Chapter Three, I outlined the methodology used in the study, connecting the methodological choices to both the research questions and the theoretical framework of the study. This included explanations of ethnographic participant interviews/conversations in the manner of Spradley (1979), detailed outlines of the theory and practice behind transcription decisions, an introduction to concept mapping, and the analytical practices involved in discourse analysis as well as textual analysis.

Through data presentation and analysis, Chapters Four, Five, and Six directly spoke to the research questions. Chapter Four focused on the macro-contexts of Nevada and Las Vegas, through ethnographic description that explored historical, geographical, and economic shifts. Chapter Five focused on the language ideological stances inscribed in state and district level texts, in order to understand the textual world that is presented to teachers. Chapter Six dealt directly with participant data – concept maps and conversation data – by asking three co-curricular teachers how they conceptualize language. Chapter Seven then presented the findings of all three chapters as they applied to the research questions, as well

as implications for individual teachers, teacher education programs, and to theoretical research practice. In order to provide the findings and implications of this study with a grounding in theory and previous empirical studies, I now turn to the literature of sociolinguistics.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Language in educational contexts has been studied within multiple theoretical traditions. In order to create more focus for my research questions, I looked to previous related literature from several of these theoretical traditions to find out what arguments have already been formed and what questions are still waiting to be discussed. I examined the following:

- what language means within a sociolinguistic framework,
- a working definition of language ideologies, included their conflictual and influential nature,
- a contrast between language ideologies and language attitudes.
- the attitudes of teachers on student languages, and
- the influence those attitudes have on teacher's interactions with students.

To build a theoretical foundation, I examined how language is conceptualized within a sociolinguistic frame, to discuss how people talk about and inhabit languages. Following that, I took a closer look at the sociolinguistic concept of language ideologies. This included a discussion of what language ideologies are, and how they influence and are distinct from language attitudes.

After establishing a solid, working definition of language ideologies and language attitudes grounded in theory, I examined empirical studies that look at the impact of the attitudes teachers have on teacher/student interactions, and the impact those interactions have on students. The empirical studies presented here come from a theoretical logic of multilingual studies, or the critical study of multilingual students in schools. Through this

line of logic, the literature has already established that when teachers have negative attitudes towards aspects of their students' lives, their interactions with students have negative impacts on achievement and wellbeing, in contrast to positive attitudes which lead to positive interactions and positive impacts on students' lives. But within this theoretical tradition, there were still gaps to be explored, and I presented the gaps as they appeared in the empirical studies. Then, to sum up all facets of the literature, I stated the questions that remain, and how to combine what is already known into further inquiry.

Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Within the field of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics is broadly defined by Llamas and Stockwell as the study of language in society, and of linguistic features of culture and power (2010). But rather than rely on this broad definition, I presented perspectives that overlap with each other, and are built on similar or the same foundations. The sources approached sociolinguistic theory and defining language with shifts in vocabulary and theory.

Hymes (1967) explored the relationship between linguistics and sociology, and the need one has for the other. Before the two were combined, structural linguistics analyzed forms of language impersonally and formally. The theoretical stance made it possible for analysts to draw positivistic conclusions that were true for a language and the whole community. But in combination with sociology, language is understood as dynamic process, rather than a static, immovable form. Hymes defined language in sociolinguistics as "what those who have it can do with it – what they have made of it, and do make of it" (p. 635). Essentially, this definition implies that there are no accidents in language, that differences in competence are not mistakes on the part of speakers, but that they are changes that create and form a language.

Hymes also believed that it was necessary to not just include linguistics in sociology, or sociology in linguistics, but rather to develop "an integrated theory of sociolinguistic description" (1967, p. 638). With a unified and distinct theory of sociolinguistics, it would be possible to conduct research that was not bound by previously created epistemologies, but to create a field with new norms and ways of thinking about language in society. Hymes outlined three assumptions of a sociolinguistic approach:

a) "a social relationship entails the selection and/or the devising of communicative means considered appropriate and perhaps specific to it;
b) the communicative means will thus be organized in ways not perhaps disclosed apart from the social relationship;
c) the communicative means available in the relationship condition its nature and outcome" (1967, p. 640).

Each of these assumptions made it clear that sociolinguistics is concerned not with defining how people should use language, but in finding out how people do use language, and to what purpose.

This distinction, that language is about what people already do, rather than what they should do, focuses on the concept that language is created through social interaction. Fishman (1997) explored these ideas as the sociology of language, which examined the social organization of language behavior. Descriptive sociology of language looked at the social patterns of language use within or for particular speech communities. The term speech community is from the field of linguistic anthropology. Gumperz defined speech communities as "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant

differences in language usage" (2009, p. 66). This term reflects an inclusive view of languages which goes beyond thinking of languages as synonymous with ethnicity or nationality. It also implies viewing language varieties as independent languages, rather than as subservient to a standard language.

Connected to this view is the concept of communicative competence. To contrast with Chomsky's distinction between competence and performance (1965), Dell Hymes created the term *communicative competence,* the concept of which combines the grammatical knowledge of a speaker with their social knowledge of approrpriateness (1972). John Gumperz clarified communicative competence as a term that "goes beyond mere description of language usage patterns, to concentrate on aspects of shared knowledge and cognitive abilities" (1997, p. 39). In education, the implications of communicative competence are far-reaching, as the concept redefines the ways in which educators consider language in their classrooms.

The focus in sociolinguistics is on the social nature of language. Bakhtin (1986) and Gee (1999) called this phenomenon social languages. People use social languages to make visible who they or others are and what they or others do – it is social action that is used for recognition of identity, and incorporates multiple Discourses in order to perform identities that will be recognized. Erickson (2004) also acknowledged the complicated nature of language through the existence of talk in both local and global ecologies simultaneously. In the local ecology, talk is the process of immediate social interaction, but at the same time, in the global ecology, talk is happening across time and space, as social actors create a through-line connecting the immediate interaction to the histories of the speakers, the context and history of the topic. The local social actors are engaging not just in the local conversation,

but in a larger conversation that includes histories and ideologies. Language is so much more than just singular words – it is imbued with meaning on many levels. Agar (1994) defined language by stating that language and culture were not two divisible parts, but rather were closely related. So closely related, in face, that since it is not possible to distinguish between them, Agar introduced the term *languaculture* as a more explicit way to illustrate this connection.

The sociolinguistic framework defines language as a social, active process, as simultaneously local and global, and as indivisible from culture. This is the definition of language upon which I framed this project, and the definition I will be engaging with throughout. Hymes summed up the sociolinguistic approach simply by saying: "it is the sociolinguistic perspective that naturally and inevitably considers man, not only as what he has been, and is, but also as what he is becoming" (1967, p. 646). In the next section, I will look at the intertwined nature of these three facets of time and being through the idea of language ideologies.

Language Ideologies – An Explanatory Theory

If languages are created socially, then there must be specific processes through which they are created, sustained, and changed. To engage with a sociolinguistic theoretical frame is to examine the social organization of language behavior, and to focus on the social patterns of language use within or for particular speech communities (Fishman, 1997). The social pattern that I will be using as an explanatory theory is that of language ideologies, to look at what influences the ways in which people think about languages.

Before discussing language ideologies as a research perspective, I will explore the definition of language ideologies and its use in multiple fields. Gal (1998) noted that the

concept of language ideologies has been explained and examined in multiple research fields using differing rubrics. In linguistics, it was studied through linguistic structure, and led to the idea that language is its own metalanguage. In interaction studies, it was seen in the cultural categories deemed necessary to determine what is happening in talk. In the study of multilingualism and language contact, it was present in the policy understanding that language choice has political implications simply because choice is based on what a speaker believes language is. Eventually, the multiple rubrics and terms were seen as similar and can now be thought of as language ideologies.

Woolard (1998) traced the etymology of the word *ideology* to the use of the term in scholarship today. She found that the world *ideology* was first used by a French philosopher, Comte Destutt de Tracy, during the eighteenth century as a concept of zoology. Ideology was originally meant to describe the difference in nature from humans and other animals, and Destutt de Tracy defined it as the science of ideas. But Napoleon, in a successful effort to discredit Destutt de Tracy, gave the word a negative connotation which still exists today in the modern use of the word "ideologue"-- someone who works with theories that have no basis in realities.

In order to trace what "ideology" means today, and what implications come with its combining with "language," Woolard (1998) presented four conceptual strands of language ideologies. The first is the concept that ideologies are part of a mental process or simply that they are conceptual. This first strand implies no social or critical dimensions, but focuses on the word as the intellectual facet of culture. The second strand is the most prevalent in scholarship: ideology is created and maintained by a particular social position, even though it is represented as universal truth. The third strand revises this slightly, by focusing on the

social position as one of power, making the purpose of ideology to maintain or control power. The fourth strand is based on the ideas of the second and third strands, but adds that the way in which power is maintained is through the distortion or rationalization of ideology.

Errington (2001) continued this line of thought, and attempted to put it all tougher cohesively. He described a language ideology as "a rubric for dealing with ideas about language structure and use relative to social contexts" (p. 110). Through the word rubric, Errington shows that this is a procedural tactic, something used by people to give structure to their world. Errington stated that language ideologies lend themselves well to studies that link language to institutional contexts and interactional processes. Language ideologies as plural rather than singular is a purposeful choice – there are multiple and simultaneous ways to think about language in social contexts. Language ideologies are mainly presented tacitly rather than declared outright, and conflict in tandem with other ideologies. Perhaps most important for educational research, however, is the idea that language ideologies "can be related to broader constellations of institutional forces, historical processes, and interests" (p. 111). When working within the social context of a school, it is necessary to be able to see as many facets of an interactional process as possible, and a language ideological perspective can make connections between the personal and the larger world.

This connection is at the core of Silverstein's (1998) definition of ideologies. Just like language or culture, ideologies are shared by a group or social formation. They are socially-situated, which implies that whenever an individual takes an ideological stance, they are not expressing a personal intuition, but are invoking a shared value of a social group. It is tempting to think that an ideology is created by one person, but the work of a group is more complicated than that. When presenting on how groups create societies, Radiolab hosts Jad

Abumrad and Robert Krulwich (2013) summed this complication up with the following riddle-like phrase: “It is created by all of us, and it is created by none of us.”

This metaphor also connects to the conflict between two social extremes: voluntarism and determinism, as outlined by Erickson (2004) in the context of social theory. A voluntaristic perspective suggests that what happens in society is completely due to the will and effort of the individual. A deterministic perspective suggests that everything in society exists outside of the individual. Erickson saw that in the social sciences, scientists tend towards social determinism, eschewing the idea that all that is needed for social change is for individuals to change their minds and actions. But he argued for the need to “steer a course between the extremes of voluntarism and determinism, as if between Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis” (p. 114). Ideologies, similarily, are created by no individuals (none of us) and by all individuals (all of us).

The creation and sustaining of language ideologies is not simple, then. Blommaert (1999) noted that ideologies do not instantly become part of a larger conversation. Rather, they are reproduced institutionally and in everyday practices. The reproduction of ideologies results in normalization, “a hegemonic pattern in which the ideological claims are perceived as ‘normal’ ways of thinking and acting” (p. 10). Some ideologies fail to be normalized, while others succeed. Of course, it is not really the ideologies themselves that fail or succeed, but social actors who chose whether or not to take them up. Blommaert pointed out that it is not a “Big Brother” situation – he echoed the socially situatedness of ideologies, rather than a prescribed set of ideas created by policy-makers in isolation.

Gal (1998) raised another important implication within the study of language ideologies – that of their connection to other conceptual systems. Language ideologies are

not just about talk. They are also about other arenas of social life. Gal pointed out that at first glance, an ideology that might appear to be about language is actually a coded story about conflicts in politics or religion. There are strong cultural connections between language, race, gender, and social groups, and a researcher must consider this in all aspects of a study. This expands the understanding of the way in which Silverstein defines language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979, p. 220). Perception is not based on just one aspect, like language, but rather on multiple aspects that need to be rationalized and justified in order to be accepted as true beliefs.

With all the discussion of rationalizing and justifying in the study of language ideologies, Irvine and Gal (2000) examined the process of linguistic differentiation. They looked at the process communities engage in when decided what counts as language as what does not. They found three semiotic processes at work in language ideologies: iconization (transformation of the relationship between linguistic features and social images), fractal recursivity (an opposition occurs at one level and influences another level), and erasure (facts that conflict with the ideology are ignored). Irvine and Gal concluded that these three processes operate worldwide and although they are conspicuously at work in the context of European colonialism, they exist outside of it as well.

Spitulnik (1998) outlined a working definition that incorporates much of the above phenomena. She grounded her study on language ideologies in Zambian broadcasting by stating that "language ideologies are, among many other things, about the construction and legitimation of power, the production of social relations of sameness and difference, and the creation of cultural stereotypes about types of speakers and social groups" (p. 164). With its

combination of power, otherness, and stereotypes, this definition brings important implications to an analysis of language ideologies within education.

To sum up the salient points developed by the above sources, I turned to Kroskrity (2000a), who found four features of language ideologies that connect together the main findings of the language ideology literature. The features are:

- "language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group…" (p. 8)
- "language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership…" (p. 12)
- "members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies…" (p. 18)
- and "members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk" (p. 21).

I was interested in the first and third features of language ideologies, as I found them to be most directly applicable to education research. If language ideologies can be used to serve the interests of one group over another, they could be an explanatory theory for the treatment and positioning of linguistic groups in a school or classroom. Also, if it is possible for members of a speech community to have varying degrees of awareness of language ideologies in their own thinking and actions, it is worth more closely examining what degrees of awareness teachers have individually. It became important as a researcher to examine the

language ideological stances present in school district texts, or in a teacher's thinking, in order to better understand what influences the lives of linguistically marginalized students.

A note on methodology. The theory of language ideologies raises issues of methodology as well. Although I address methodology more completely later, I felt moved to point out that theoretical decisions create methodological repercussions. The choice to view language ideologies as expressed through explicit talk about language has different implications than language ideologies expressed through implicit metalinguistics. For example, Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) took a metalinguistics approach, championing a methodology that looks at what is unsaid, or the assumptions that implicitly frame discourse. But Briggs (1998) countered that this approach privileges the analyst, and favors the opinions of the researcher over those of the participant. Briggs instead took up an explicit talk approach, which he believed would minimize the risk of reifying the perspective of one group over another. In this study, I followed Briggs' example and engaged with a methodology of explicit talk about language, as discussed further in chapter three.

Language myths. Many language myths exist, tied closely to language ideologies. Most of these myths are negative, and are aimed at the reification of a language by debasing another. Bauer and Trudgill (1998) were able to compile an edited book of twenty-one myths, each with negative connotations to one language or another. The myths are all supported by ideological stances, and are well-worn territory for anyone who has debated "proper" language use. There is the myth that some languages are just not good enough (Harlow, 1998), which often gets used in arguments about minority language use as opposed to majority language use. There is the myth that some languages have no grammar (Bauer, 1998), which is employed in arguments about linguistic varieties such as African American

Vernacular English (AAVE). There is the myth that children can't speak or write properly anymore (Milroy, 1998), which is often the basis for arguments on educational policy, especially when focused on standardized education or English Language Learning students. But these myths are just that – myths. And yet, because they are founded in language ideologies that groups agree upon as "truth," they are not dismissed easily in conversation.

There is a relationship between language ideologies and language myths, but they are distinctly different from each other. Watts (2011) defined language myths as fictitious but containing elements of reality from the experiences of a community. In that way, myths are about telling the story of a group and also about group validation, a way to justify behavior through ideas of the past. Both myths and ideologies are constructed socially, and are dynamic in their construction. Language ideologies, on the other hand, are re/constructed through discourse, and are an institutionalized way of thinking. They are shared beliefs that the community members think of as *truth*. Watts stressed the element of shared beliefs, and concluded that a person cannot have language ideologies of their own. A person, singular, could have language attitudes, but the ideologies represent communal thinking, social construction. I return to the distinction between language attitudes and language ideologies later in this chapter, as it is important to the theoretical understanding of this project.

The largest language myth, with expansive ideological implications, is that of linguistic homogeneity (Watts, 2011). This myth assumes that language systems are coherent and homogenous, and that all speakers use the same system – or should use the same system. The goal in this myth is some sort of unattainable linguistic perfection, but at the same time, the myth views language as static and unchanging, which is in stark contrast to sociolinguistic perspectives and findings. This myth is often a problem within educational

language policies. Another myth that Watts identified as problematic to education is the ideology of Standard English. Watts argued that the ideology of Standard English comes from a larger ideology of politeness, which originated in the eighteenth century. They are connected because both ideologies owe their existence to the myth of the educated language, that educated people speak a highly-valued language that shows their pedigree and education, and if you are unable to speak this educated language, you must not be worthy of privilege. Closely tied to this is the myth of the superiority of English, which contributes to many of the language policies in the United States today.

Lippi-Green (1997) also has an explanation for the ideology of Standard English in the United States. In her work on accents, she noticed that most people believed that accents marked a speaker as uneducated, lazy, or as a "language anarchist" (p. 58). People believed that speakers needed imposed rules for language, structures that would be governed by authoritative experts. One of the problems with this belief is that it relies on another myth – the myth of the non-accent. Since people do not exist outside of geographic and/or social space, it stands to reason that everyone has accents that mark them as members of specific speech communities. And yet speakers normalize their own accents and "otherize" the accents of other speakers who speak differently from them, potentially in negative and destructive manners. In education, accents as viewed through the ideology of Standard English create a stage for snap-judgments or stereotyping on the educational attainment and potential of students who speak differently than their teacher, or then the perceived standard.

Conflict, contest, and change. Conflict is a major component of the study of language ideologies. Ideologies often conflict with each other, leading to issues of contest and desired change. Kroskrity (2000a) and his colleagues on an edited book coined the

phrase “regimes of language” to get at the integration of politics and language. Although the two had often been treated as separate domains, they are strongly intertwined.

In fact, conflict is so much a part of language ideologies that they can be analyzed by looking at the language ideological debates that surface among and within speech communities or nations (Blommaert, 1999). Blommaert gave some examples of the kinds of debates that exist: purity/impurity of languages, social value of some languages over others, the desire to use one language variety over another. While the debates he describes are explored at national and political levels, debates of language ideologies exist at macro and micro levels of social interaction.

No one is absent of ideologies, and often these ideologies come into conflict with each other during interaction. Collins (1998) explored two ideological conflicts that arose during his research -- one between a native community of Tolowa in northern California and the state credentialing agencies in charge of official language renewal programs, and the second between himself in the role of analyst and the native speakers. In both conflicts, Collins saw what Agar would call a “rich point” (1994) – a moment when those who are interacting realize a culture is different from their own and includes behaviors that they do not understand. Collins (1998) traced these rich points to conflicting ideologies about language, but then continued on to question whether it would be possible to study Tolowa language ideology without acknowledging that he brought his own language ideologies into the research.

Collins concluded that since researchers always bring their own ideologies and interests into a study – since a person cannot exist within an ideological vacuum – it was necessary to acknowledge first that ideology is always present (1998). He gives examples of

where ideologies can be found – in assumptions, in practices, in efforts to authorize one while undermining another. A researcher must make considerations based on the knowledge of the language ideologies they are a part of, and those of the participants, all while being aware that ideology is a trap from which there can be no escape.

Language endangerment and accompanying metaphors. Conflict within language ideologies can also stem from fear about the perceived decline of a language (Heller & Duchêne, 2007). Language endangerment, decline, extinction, or death comes in many forms, on a spectrum from based-in-reality to totally-fabricated, and communities respond to it in different ways. Heller and Duchêne (2007) situated their discourse of language endangerment on countering inequality. Many positions on language endangerment focused on saving languages from death or aesthetic decline, but Heller and Duchêne wondered why people were uncomfortable defining this instead as language change or shift. They found that at the heart of the issue for many people is a fear of losing collective identity.

Cameron also noticed that people have a desire to "meddle in matters of language" (1995, p. vii). She called this desire *verbal hygiene*, the urge to improve or clean up language. Cameron traced the history and politics of verbal hygiene, and found that language endangerment is presented emotionally and implies inherent moralistic action (2007). Languages are represented as living things, and are metaphorically compared to other biological beings through words like "extinction" and "endangered." This metaphor is based on an incorrect comparison – whereas an animal is endangered because of loss of habitat due to environmental changes, languages are "endangered" due to the cultural process of language shift. The animal will indeed go extinct if no one helps – but the language in most cases will still exist, just exist differently.

Of course, for some people, this is unacceptable, and that is where the concept of verbal hygiene comes in (Cameron, 2007). There is a moral force behind the idea of language preservation – it implies a bond between a speech community and a language that expresses culture and worldview as no other bond can. Speakers have a moral obligation to maintain their mother tongue, and going against that obligation will result in the catastrophic loss of identity and culture. However, Cameron problematizes the morality present in the argument. By the logic of this argument, speakers would have a natural right to preserve their mother tongue. But when thinking about immigrant groups, this would also mean that speakers of non-dominant languages would not have the natural right to education or official transactions in the dominant language.

One example of verbal hygiene and the emotional impact it has on speakers comes from a study on Mexicano (Nahuatl) language ideologies by Hill (1998). Hill explored the ideologies connecting respect for tradition to language use. She found that older speakers used nostalgia as a discursive system to express their interpretation of a loss of respect as younger speakers switched more and more to Spanish. Older speakers, especially successful men, viewed Spanish as full of flaws, and blamed the language for the rude and disrespectful actions of children. These older speakers believed that a pure form of Mexicano was culturally appropriate, and fit with the social forms of the past, which they were nostalgic for. They were particularly upset by any mixing of Spanish and Mexicano, which was emblematic of a loss of respect.

The metaphor upon which language endangerment is built constructs language as a living, organic being. Pennycook (2004) took umbrage with this metaphor, and found political consequences that followed when language was thought of as a natural object rather

than a cultural one. In response, O'Driscoll (2013) created a new metaphor that he believed might neutralize many of the problems with the biomorphic metaphor. O'Driscoll pointed out that the biomorphic metaphor assumes that languages have intrinsic properties and a degree of agency. However, that would mean speakers are relegated to dependent status – "in this cosmology, languages do not belong to people. Rather, people belong to languages" (p. 606). The biomorphic metaphor causes speakers to forget that there is nothing intrinsically modern about English as opposed to other languages, and that there are definite human forces causing a decline in linguistic diversity.

In the biomorphic metaphor, languages vie for speakers as territories. But in O'Driscoll's new metaphor, the languages are the territories. He called this the venues metaphor (2013). Basically, languages are seen as venues where speakers can meet, and they vary by ownership (mine, yours, or neither) and status. O'Driscoll stated that most importantly, the venues metaphor puts focus on the users of language rather than on the language itself. The venues metaphor refocuses the idea of language endangerment to be about the speakers of that language, and about their comfort, security and empowerment as members of a minority language group.

Conflicts around English. Although English is a dominant language in the United States today, there are still those who feel the need to defend it. Schmidt (2007) examined the phenomenon of defending English in an English-dominant world, and the ideologies within the Official English movement in the United States. The Official English movement consisted of two large political groups with mass membership in the United States – US English, which more than one million members, and English First. Both groups were founded in the 1980s. The political campaign of the Official English movement was

uneccessary by most rubrics – so Schmidt studied exactly what was motivating this group in their pursuit.

There were two rationales for defending English, and both were based ideologically on defending the common good (Schmidt, 2007). If non-English languages were supported and acknowledged by the government, that would lead directly to interethnic conflict, which goes against the ideals of national unity. Therefore, as rhetorically laid out by Official English groups, in order to keep the peace and serve the common good, English must be the only language of the United States. That was the first rationale. The second rationale argued from a justice-centered perspective. It was based on the false language myth that the United States has always been an English only nation, and that multiple languages exist here due to recent immigration. It ignored the fact that although English has been the hegemonic language since the inception of the United States, it has never been spoken by all of its population.

In fact, English is widely accepted as *lingua franca* today, but with this role comes conflicting ideologically-based perspectives (Jenkins, 2007; Meierkord, 2013). Among these perspectives is the idea that in its role as *lingua franca*, English is instead a threat to other languages. As a language takes on this role, ownership changes from solely native speakers to include non-native speakers as well, and, due to the language's flexibility of use in the world, may cause speakers to discard their other languages. House (2003) questioned whether this is actually true, and concluded that it is not a threat to multilingualism. English as *lingua franca* (ELF) can be understood as a language of communication, not a national language but a transactional language. Then ELF is not being used for identity marking, whereas other languages would still serve the purpose of showing group membership. House

also found that, paradoxically, it may be that the spread of ELF actually encourages speakers of minority languages to use their local language more as an emotional tie to culture and history. House suggested that further research consider Fishman's (1977) designation of ELF as an additional language that works with local languages.

There is also the paradigm of World Englishes, which Seidlhofer argued is compatible with ELF (2009). World Englishes first acknowledges that there are multiple Englishes existing in the world, and conceptualizes each different English as a language variety. In fact, non-native speakers of Englishes outnumber native speakers. But both ELF and World Englishes paradigms approach languages as pluricentric. Clyne (1991) traced the term back to Heinz Kloss, who described pluricentric languages as having several interacting centers, "each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms" (p. 1). The idea of pluricentric languages has changed to define varieties not as deviations from the norm or standard langauge, but rather as multiple centers based on nationality or identity.

Language Ideologies as Differentiated from Language Attitudes

The literature as I have presented thus far makes an elegant case for the prevalence of language ideologies in both our communal thinking about languages as well as our individual thinking about languages. Language ideologies are often mistaken or interpreted by individuals as their own thoughts, and in a way, that is not untrue. But since they are socially created and norm-creating, they do not belong to one person alone.

However, in some of my previous work (Mainz, expected 2016), I looked at the other influences on the ways in which educators think about languages. For that study, I interviewed five graduate student teaching fellows with the School Kids Investigating Language & Life in Society (SKILLS) program about their language stances. The

participants in that study discussed language ideologies, which as graduate students in Education, Chican@ Studies, and Linguistics they were all familiar with, but they spent most of the interview discussing other influences like personal experiences, their own language use, people in their lives, political stances, family situations, and academic beliefs. The influences on language thinking were vast and interwoven, but in order to discuss the more individualized thoughts of the participants, I needed a way to distinguish between ideological thinking and other thinking.

For this purpose, I made a distinction between language ideologies and language attitudes. Language ideologies are socially-situated rubrics for dealing with ideas about languages; language attitudes are the ideas themselves that an individual states as "theirs." They have a complicated relationship and cannot often be separated – either with or without awareness, individuals can state an ideological stance as a personal one. But in that instance, although the influence is coming from and continuing a socially-situated language ideology, it would be untrue to say that the individual has no agency in that context. By expressing language ideologies as their own truths, they are contributing to the institutional reproduction of language ideologies (Blommaert, 1999) – so they are simultaneously expressing their own attitudes and invoking a language ideology.

Attitudes Towards Languages – Institutions and Teachers

Having established the framework of language within which I worked and an understanding of the explanatory theory of language ideologies, I looked at the attitudes and ideologies present in the educational system in the United States. Hymes argued that "a latent function of schools [is] to define a certain proportion of people as inferior, even to convince them that they are so…on the seemingly neutral ground of language" (1980, p.

110). The verisimilitude of Hymes' assertion will be borne out by the literature that I present in this section, along with the hope that although it may be true, it does not need to continue to be.

I began with a broad look at institutional language ideologies in the context of language and educational policies. This also included a dissection of the idea of policy creation and the notion of a policy creator, including the ways in which teachers implement policies in their classrooms. From there, I looked at the attitudes teachers have towards languages as well as race and gender, and the ways in which those attitudes influence students. Interestingly, even though many of these studies base their literature in the realm of sociolinguistics, the authors implicitly define language solely as ethno/nationally bound. This was a gap in the empirical studies explored here, and as such, was a point I specifically addressed in the methodology. I will address this further when returning to my research questions. After setting up my frame of logic and establishing the assertions upon which I based my research, I examined teacher awareness of language ideologies and systemic linguistic marginalization of students, and summed up my further questions resulting from these assertions.

Institutional attitudes in language policy. As agents within schools, teachers can be positioned as a bridge between students and the broader institution, either reinforcing the attitudes of the institution or subverting them. Therefore, before looking at the attitudes of teachers themselves, I first looked at the attitudes towards language present in the planning and the policies of the institution of education.

The history of bilingual education in the United States was a fruitful starting point for seeing both the shifting sands of language ideologies over time and the lack of ideological

consistency of language policies. Ovando (2003) researched the history and development of bilingual education, and observed that as long as America has existed as an independent nation, there have been bilingual schools which have been viewed with varying levels of support or derision. He divided the history of language policy in the United States into four time periods: the permissive period, the restrictive period, the opportunist period, and the dismissive period.

During the permissive period -- from the 1700s to the 1880s --, there was tolerance, or at least a "benign neglect" (Ovando, 2003, p. 4) of European languages other than English, such as German, French, and Spanish, among others. From the 1880s to the 1960s was the restrictive period, where repressive policies began to appear, especially targeting Native American languages and German. This period had the first English-only educational laws, adopted by Illinois and Wisconsin in 1889 to restrict use of the German language. With their intent to restrict language use, these laws were precursors to the English-only laws of the late twentieth century.

Ovando (2003) defines the time after World War II (1960s-1980s) as the opportunist period, when some languages were privileged as resources, especially if they had political or military use. But gradually, the purpose of bilingual education and of bilingualism itself was linked to the Civil Rights Movement, and led to the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) in 1968. This time period also saw the Supreme Court decision of Lau v. Nichols in 1974, which affirmed that non-English speaking students had the right to equal education, which meant instruction in their home language.

Despite the inclusive progress made during this period, institutional language policies have shifted back significantly, in what Ovando (2003) calls the dismissive period. The

dismissive period rejects many of the changes made during the opportunist period, and is focused on English Only policies, such as Proposition 227 in California or Question 2 in Massachusetts, in which English is required as the medium of instruction for linguistic minority students. Gandara, Moran, and Garica (2004) have found that many attempts at legal changes have been thwarted, such as the regulations attempted by the Carter administration in the aftermath of the Lau v. Nichols case. The regulations, which ensured the implementation of equal education through primary language instruction as defined by Lau v. Nichols, were withdrawn by the Reagan administration. Currently, institutional language ideologies dismiss the importance of languages other than English, and view multilingualism as a barrier to further educational process.

Ruiz (1984) created a conceptual model of orientations in language planning that maps well with Ovando's (2003) ideological periods. The three orientations in language planning are language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Each of the three orientations looks at language in education through a different lens. Someone with language-as-problem orientation views languages as barriers to learning, something to be overcome. For example, languages create developmental linguistic issues for speakers, and therefore must be used in isolation from each other. Often, policies written from this orientation require the subordination of a first language to a second language, such as English-only laws in education.

In contrast, someone with a language-as-right orientation views languages and the use of multiple languages in an educational setting as akin to a civil right. This orientation was prevalent during Ovando's (2003) opportunist period. Interwoven with the civil rights movement in the United States, policies with a language-as-right orientation acknowledge

that students have the right to use their languages in schools, and that instruction in students' first language is in fact an inalienable right.

The third orientation Ruiz (1984) defines is that of language-as-resource. At the core of this orientation is the idea that language skills and multilingualism are resources like any other resource present in a classroom. This means that there can be a rich store of resources, as in a class where many students are multilingual, or a scarcity of resources, as can happen when students are discouraged from "conserving" their languages through communal use.

Even though Ovando (2003) defines our current national time as the dismissive period, there is a prevalent educational push towards Ruiz's third orientation (1984), at the curricular and classroom planning level. Moll et. al. (1992) developed a curricular concept called funds of knowledge which is based within this orientation. Students bring all kinds of resources with them into classrooms that can be used for educational purposes. They do not arrive as blank slates to be filled with knowledge, but rather they bring knowledge with them that they can add to what they find at school to synthesize new knowledge. Similarly, students do not arrive in a classroom with no language. If their language skills are viewed as a resource, the classroom would fit with that idea. Language-as-resource is also at the heart of curricular movements such as Ladsen-Billing's (1995) theory of culturally relevant pedagogy.

But the vast majority of school systems in the United States still operate within a language-as-problem orientation. Much of the language planning and language policies created for and by schools reflect the idea of subtractive assimilation. In an overview of the history and status of immigrant language diversity in the United States, Wiley (2007) found an underlying language ideology is that of English monolingualism. The main assumption of

this ideology is that in order to be a true speaker of English, a speaker must be monolingual. There is an expectation that those who speak another language must give up their first language in order to learn English, also known as subtractive assimilation. Subtractive assimilation as an ideology also underlines the myth that the current linguistic diversity in the United States is a departure from a monolingual past, which Ovando (2003) has shown to be historically false. And yet, the ideology persists at the institutional level in educational systems, seen in the creation of policies that treat languages as problems, and dismiss languages other than English in favor of monolingualism.

The question of whether English belongs solely to native speakers or to all people who speak it finds its way into educational policies and teacher practices (Norton, 1997). Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) looked at the education of minority children in the United States and the influence of language ideologies on the choices made by schools. She assumed three goals of a good educational program: multilingualism in high levels, equal opportunities to achieve at school, and positive multilingual/multicultural identity and positive attitudes towards self and others. Then, she divided schools into two groups – models, those that exemplified the goals, and non-models, those that did not. Sadly, she found that the non-models outnumbered the models, and noted that the education of minorities is often organized contrary to scientific evidence. This stems from a language ideology of English monolingualism, and a perceived importance of putting aside multiple languages in favor of one.

But in order for linguistically minoritized students to succeed, they should not be distanced from their multiple languages and cultures (Merry, 2005). This stance contrasts with the dominant language ideologies of English superiority or subtractive assimilation,.

Shannon (1999) conducted a study on language ideologies as reflected in the practice of bilingual teachers, whose pedagogy and practice are founded upon teaching multiple languages simultaneously, or at least in tandem. Shannon found that the debate in the United States on bilingual education is inextricably tied to the larger ideological debate on English dominance and status. The opposition to bilingual education thought that it was a way for Spanish speakers to gain power, because it seemed contradictory to teach a student English but also teach content in Spanish. Opposition was also based on a type of hazing mentality – many in opposition were themselves bilingual who had survived the "sink or swim" method of language acquisition, and believed that others could survive it too.

Ultimately, Shannon (1999) found that the good programs were good because those working in them invoked an ideology that revered multilingualsim. The "bad" programs, or the ones that weren't working, were "bad" because those working in them were too persuaded by the pervasive ideology of English monolingualism. Shannon found that a large problem was a lack of federal language policy to drive the practice of bilingual teachers – there is no institutionally sanctioned language of multilingualism to contradict the strong language ideology of English monolingualism. Shannon also found ideologies connected to immigration and stereotypes of lazy, reluctant immigrants at the heart of the matter. Shannon pointed out that this ideology is based on an illusion – immigrants are learning English, but due to the continuous immigration of Spanish speakers to the United States, there is always a visible portion of the immigrant population that does not yet speak English.

Complexity of language policy creation. However, policies are less a simple rule of law that is followed at all costs, and more a complex system of interaction, influence, and ideologies. Leckie, Kaplan and Rubenstein-Avila (2013) studied a legislative committee

discussing the reclassification of English Language Learners (ELLs) in Arizona. The committee members attempted to legitimize their statements drawing on language ideologies that appeared to be previously socially agreed upon by the group. The study found numerous ideologies at work, such as the idea that English is the only path towards academic success or the valuing of reclassification speed over student understanding. Committee members discussed the educational level of ELL students as a "ticking time bomb" (p. 160), and positioned the home language of the students as a problem in the way of educational progress. The committee agreed that ELL students should stop receiving services for learning English and enter into a mainstreamed, English-only curriculum as quickly as possible, regardless of the potential need for continuing services. The policies enacted by the committee were informed by and created based on a blend of the individual members' language attitudes and institutional language ideologies embedded in policies

This complexity is not only seen at the administrative or policy-maker level. In fact, the complexity inherent in policy creation points to a new perspective on who is a policy-maker. Corson (1999) based a language policy book specifically meant for an audience of teachers and administrators on the idea that policy is an ongoing process of discourse and interaction, rather than a top-down process. Educators can appropriate language policy formally through localized policy text creation, and informally through classroom practice. Language policies are "one way in which dominant discourses about language (education) are perpetuated" (Johnson, 2010, p. 62). But if Corson's (1999) view of language policy appropriation exists in schools, then the dominant discourse is not the sole discourse affecting students.

Johnson (2010) found evidence to support this idea through an ethnography on language policy appropriation. Johnson's three year study with the school district of Philadelphia examined language policy at all levels of the district. The educators in Philadelphia were working within the context of Title III from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (more often known as No Child Left Behind) of 2002, which changed the focus from bilingual education to English monolingualism. Johnson found that policy creation, however, does not happen as solely "top-down" or as "bottom-up," but is happening at each level due to creation, interpretation and appropriation. The educators that Johnson worked with were creating ideological spaces within their classrooms that would still foster multilingualism for their students, regardless of the letter of the law in the formal policy.

In California, similar appropriation and interpretation of language policy took place with Proposition 227. In a study of three different California school districts, Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, and Asato (2000) looked at the implementation of the English Only language policy in an English immersion classroom, an alternative bilingual classroom, and a structured immersion classroom. They found that there was huge variance in the way teachers and administrators implemented and interpreted Proposition 227. This variance was influenced by language ideologies towards English and towards the home languages of students in the school district. Two of the districts in the study were driven by an emphasis on English monolingualism, while the third focused on multilingualism, positioning language as a resource. Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, and Asato concluded that the consequences of the variance in policy implementation are an illustration of the educational system's failure to serve California's multilingual children.

But there is reason for optimism here as well, because these studies find that teachers do not always blindly follow formal policy in their classroom practice. The language attitudes of a teacher or of a school influence how they will implement or change policies to fit with their educational views. If a teacher is choosing to interpret or implement a policy in a way that subverts the policy, the disempowering nature of a formal language policy may not reach all students. In this next section, I will look at the ways in which teachers enact institutional policies and what influences their decisions towards action.

How teachers implement policy – The connection between practice and attitudes. Teachers can be viewed as institutional agents, a term which is defined by Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) as people who have "the capacity and commitment to transmit directly or to negotiate the transmission of institutional resources and opportunities" (p. 177). As institutional agents, teachers can choose to either transmit or deny resources to students. Factors ascribed to student identity, such as language, race, gender, or sexuality, influence these decisions.

As agents within the educational institution, teachers are influenced by the institution itself. Ogbu and Simons (1998) established a connection between the treatment of minoritized groups in society and the treatment of minoritized groups in education. Their cultural ecological theory consists of two parts. The first part is "the system"(p. 158), or the way that minoritized groups are mis/treated in the educational institution. The second part is the community forces, or the way that minority groups perceive schooling as a consequence of treatment by the system.

A large part of the treatment from the educational system revolves around the standard language ideology (Siegel, 2006). Students who speak marginalized varieties are

taught that the standard language (in this case, English) is superior to their languages in structure as well as importance. This lesson is solidified in students' education through either denigration or omission. Through cultural ecological theory, Ogbu and Simons (1998) find that in order to avoid basing expectations of students on minority group stereotypes or denying the importance of varieties of language, teachers should view students as individuals. When they do not, they may denigrate the culture and language of members of the minority group.

Students from minoritized groups are aware of this denigration: their experiences are impacted by the way the institution and its actors treat them. In fact, students make the connection between institutional ideologies with the actions and individual attitudes of their teachers, and they also see a connection to language as well. Archer-Banks and Behar-Horenstein (2010) studied how African-American girls deal with the discriminations and inequities within the educational system. The eight high-achieving students who participated in the study reported "disparities in the school's implementation of policies and practices" (p. 209) that made them feel distrustful of the school, the larger institution of education, and of their teachers. They noticed that many teachers perceived African-American girls as loud or argumentative, and treated them differently because of this. The examples in the article of teachers enacting policies unequally were often paired with teachers' derisive comments about African-American Vernacular English (AAVE). Students connected the treatment they received from teachers with the treatment they received from the educational institution. Both treatments appear to be based on language as well as other racialized factors.

It is difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to isolate issues of language from race or gender. Institutional agents in a school often make judgments on students based on some

combination thereof, mixing language ideologies with racialization and gender-typing. In a similar study by Lei (2003), teachers were especially vitriolic in their positioning of black female students, identifying them as large, loud, aggressive, and full of attitude. Again, the linguistic performance and use of AAVE "posed a threat to those in power and the male prerogative, not only symbolically but also in a literal sense" (2003, p. 165). Women of color face a "triple oppression" (Meador, 2005, p. 161) of class, race, and gender marginalization. I would add linguistic marginalization to this list, making it no longer triple oppression, but quadrupled oppression.

In Meador's (2005) study on schooling for Mexican immigrant girls in the rural southwest, she found frustration from students and within teachers over the treatment of this minority group. The students were aware that teachers had a preconceived idea about the characteristics of a good student, and they reported that if they did not exhibit those characteristics (play sports like basketball and football, have good grades, have friends), teachers would not afford them the same opportunities. Teachers were also aware that they categorized "good" students this way, and that there was no place for Mexican students, especially immigrant girls, in their definition. One teacher said about good students that "many of these students don't have anything to do with Hispanics" (p. 153). The teachers in this study also invoke the language orientation of language as a problem, stating that Latinas face a language barrier, which holds them back from academic achievement.

Language divides between teachers and students can be compounded in classrooms at all levels. Regardless of age, students are not always able to resist or subvert the assumptions teachers make about student identity based on language ideologies. Menard-Warwick (2008) studied a unit on employment in an adult ELL classroom. The teacher assumed, based on the

immigrant status and language abilities of her students, that her female students were primarily homemakers. She focused her lesson on the English skills a full-time homemaker might need in order to transition to full-time employment. However, her students did not fit these assumptions. One woman had been as a businesswoman with a pharmaceutical company in Peru for fourteen years, but did not have the English language skills to communicate this to the teacher. Neither did the teacher attempt to understand the different skills of her students outside of the assumptions she had made in her lesson-planning.

It can be very difficult for teachers to subvert the policies of the system, especially when language ideologies such as the superiority of English monolingualism are prevalent in institutional rhetoric and popular culture as well. Curricular change can be a way to bring about social change, but only if the institutional agents involved are willing to examine the ideologies they take for granted. In an ethnography on multicultural education, Ngo (2010) examined how the institutional agents – teachers, staff, administrators – and the students of a public high school addressed cultural difference. Ngo found that although the school advertised and promoted itself as a multicultural school, and was indeed demographically multicultural, the commitment to the philosophies behind multicultural education were only on the surface.

Multicultural education was intended as a reform movement to address inequality by implementing change; but, as is often the case, the school in Ngo's (2010) study had reduced it to what is known as "stomp and chomp." The focus was not on the systemic nature of inequality and power today but on multicultural foods and dances and celebration that simplifies difference into essentializing categories. Ngo found that the students felt that the racial tensions that were a part of their everyday school life were not addressed. The teachers

were resistant to multicultural education due to uncritical practices in the implementation of the new curriculum. One teacher worried that the school was tokenizing students with its approaches. But rather than addressing their concerns, the teachers rejected multicultural education and reverted back to the way they had always taught.

Helmer (2011) found a similar phenomenon during a two-year ethnographic study at a start-up charter school. She studied a heritage language classroom that was ostensibly created to encourage the idea that language is a resource, and as a culturally relevant space. Initially, Helmer was optimistic that this classroom might be an example of what she considered "best practices" – the teacher was just out of a Master's program in border studies, and the faculty seemed committed to creating "a curricular model that honored community through hands-on learning" (p. 137). The lessons for the class focused topics such as linguistic rights as a human right, and on how language discrimination affects a students' self-worth.

But because of the disrespectful interactions between the teacher and students, the students disengaged from the process and the goals of the classroom were not reached (Helmer, 2011). The students segregated themselves into antagonistic groups based on ethnolinguistic and nationality identities (Mexican origin, South American origin, Native American origin, etc.) and the teacher did not actively foster a classroom community as a counterbalance, sometimes dismissing student concerns about these antagonistic interactions as unimportant. The teacher, normally friendly and personable outside of class, was more serious and unfriendly in class. She elicited student opinions on what they'd like to study in the class, but then never used that input in her planning. The main language of use in the classroom was English, despite the fact that it was a Spanish heritage language class. The

students viewed these choices as breaches of faith, and engaged in performance strikes often. All of these actions by the teacher undermined the message of the curriculum, which was to valorize Spanish as a heritage language, and create a space for students that was safe and open. The attitudes of the teacher, fueled in part by unacknowledged language ideologies, derailed any culturally relevant teaching that might have occurred. Helmer ultimately described the classroom practice as "good intentions gone wrong" (p. 142). She found that a teacher's "teaching ethos" reflects both the teacher's own language attitudes and the institutional language ideologies of which the teacher may or may not be aware

Valdés (1998) found a similar theme in a two-year study of two adolescent Latino girls. Both girls were enrolled in an English as a Second Language (ESL) class as newcomers, and entered schools with high expectations for their academic futures. However, the ESL track proved a barrier to the kind of academic future the girls had hoped for. One of the girls constantly struggled to prove to her ESL teachers that she was ready for mainstreamed classes, presenting her with evidence of her English abilities, and even enlisting the help of Valdés. But the ESL teacher was unwilling to evaluate student progress on anything but the assessments from the textbook. Eventually, when the girl was placed in mainstreamed classes, the content teachers aimed their classes at the ability of the mainstream students, and provided no additional help to language learners. Inevitably, Valdés found the school to be a cultural/political arena, where "individuals of good will are not aware that they have become instruments of dominant interests" (p.15).

Valdés' (1998) findings and the findings of many of these studies show that teachers are planning their actions with good intentions but are not able to completely erase the influence of larger language ideologies like subtractive assimilation or English

monolingualism. Razfar (2012) conducted a narrative study in which he attempted to get at the language beliefs of teachers through narrative analysis. Razfar noticed that many studies analyze teacher beliefs solely based on categorical statements, such as those that begin with "I believe…". But the analysis of beliefs in this manner "assumes that teachers have for the most part resolved their epistemic and ideological stances and are able to consciously articulate them while detached from the original context" (p. 62). And, as I established earlier, language ideologies are dynamic and plural, not static or singular. So rather than only taking into account what the teachers say, Razfar was also considering how they said it.

During his analysis, Razfar (2012) found that although the teacher he interviewed was personally committed to multilingualism, and grounded her beliefs in the orientation of language as a resource, she continued to use language and classroom practices associated with English monolingualism and subtractive assimilation. Subversion of language ideologies in the classroom is not as easy as flipping a switch – teachers struggle to follow their own culturally relevant language beliefs, but in subtle or not so subtle ways, continue to uphold institutional language ideologies. Luckily, there have been studies that focus on what exactly teachers can do to work towards classroom practice that do not alienate and denigrate students.

Importance of awareness of teacher attitudes toward languages. Awareness of personal attitudes toward language and the intersection between these attitudes and institutional language ideologies is as the core of change in teacher practice. In a study with teachers of kindergarten through twelfth grade, Lee and Oxelson (2006) found that teachers without training in language education did not believe it was their job or within the purview of the school to help a student maintain their heritage language. Lee and Oxelson found that

teacher attitudes towards the role of language in schools could be traced to the nature of their teacher training or their personal experiences with other languages.

However, Lee and Suarez found that heritage language maintenance plays an important role in the development of the whole child (2009). Heritage language is not just another language for students – it is a "symbolic representation of their identities, social relations, and their culture" (p. 160). As such, it is essential that teachers examine language ideologies for the sake of their students, and move beyond just being aware of ideologies towards actual changes in pedagogy, curriculum, and interactions.

When outlining the theory of culturally-relevant pedagogy, Ladsen-Billings (1995) discussed the dual importance of the task of teaching – teachers must not only help their students succeed academically, but also help students "recognize, understand, and critique current social inequalities" (p. 476). However, Ladson-Billings pointed out that this assumes the teachers themselves are able to recognize, understand, and critique social inequalities. As shown in the studies above, this may not be the case.

A teacher's teaching ethos reflects both the teacher's own attitudes and the institutional ideologies that the teacher may or may not be aware of (cf. Helmer, 2011). It is difficult to separate the personal language beliefs held by an individual teacher and the ideologies perpetuated by an institution and then taken up by individuals. Siegel (2006) found that it may be easier for teachers to be aware of their personal language attitudes than it is to acknowledge the language ideologies that are created and normalized in a complex manner.

In Siegel's (2006) study of the marginalization of vernacular varieties such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE), he created an awareness teaching approach that exists

in opposition to institutional language ideologies by including marginalized varieties in the curriculum. The assumption on which Siegel based his new approach is that poor academic performance stems less from poor teaching and more from hegemonic language ideologies that marginalize whole groups of students. With his approach, teachers can begin to change this by examining their own attitudes towards languages and the ideas they have constructed those attitudes around.

Osborne (1996) expanded on this by asserting the centrality of language to culturally relevant pedagogy, and by looking closely at the teacher's role in the process of pedagogical implementation. Osborne created nine assertions of culturally-relevant pedagogy, one of which concerned language directly: "it is desirable to include students' first languages in the school program and in classroom interactions" (p. 295). Another assertion stated the prevalence of racism in schools, and the need to address it directly in classrooms. These assertions and seven others led to two outcomes intended for educators in multicultural settings. One outcome was theoretical, with implications to how to think about teaching in a multicultural setting, but the other outcome is a process designed specifically to aid teachers in reflecting on issues of social justice.

But regardless of the ease or comfort of awareness, the literature shows that acknowledgement -- and action on that acknowledgement -- influences student and teacher interaction. That institutional language ideologies exist is agreed upon – whether the educational system and individual educators act with them or against them rests within their own ethical imperatives.

Areas of Further Inquiry

Having established through a sociolinguistic framework what language ideologies are, how they differ from language attitudes, and how both language ideologies and language attitudes exist within the context of education, I looked at what I can assume based on the literature, and from there, turned to areas of further inquiry based on those assumptions. There were two specific gaps in the literature:

- lack of knowledge of how teachers think about language
- lack of studies on language with teachers from varying content areas

These two gaps led to the research questions I have constructed for the project, which I presented at the end of this section.

What can be assumed based on the literature. Educational language policies center around two main educational language ideologies: the superiority of English monolingualism and the importance of subtractive assimilation. The empirical studies I presented examined the connection between institutional language ideologies and the individually-held language attitudes of teachers, along with the closely tied attitudes on race and gender. Whether they are aware of it or not, many teachers were found to use language to position their students academically and socially, as a way to view students as homogeneous groups rather than as individuals.

The studies I synthesized here focused on the effect of teacher attitudes on students, leading to the assertion that teachers' actions affect the academic and personal well-being of their students. From here on out, I built on this as an assumption – that the positive interactions teachers have with students have positive effects, while more negative interactions have negative effects, and that the type of interactions teachers have with

students are based on their own attitudes towards student attributes. Beginning with this as a given, I focused on the attitudes teachers have, looking at the influences on those attitudes including but also beyond the institutional language ideologies that are at work within the educational system.

Teachers' conceptualizations of language. But in the majority of this literature on teacher attitudes towards language, an assumption was made about how teachers themselves conceptualize language. Teachers were presented with language as ethnically or nationally bound – English, AAVE, and Spanish, for the most part. Certainly the discourse from the school system engages fully with this conceptualization – language is another demographic piece of information to acquire about incoming students just like race or nationality, another way to track student learning, another way to think of students as groups. But at no time are teachers themselves asked how they are defining language, or how they conceptualize language in their classrooms.

To frame a study on teacher language conceptualization around this narrow definition of language ignores the findings of sociolinguists. The assumption that teachers define language in the same manner as the institution is prescriptive rather than descriptive. And yet this assumption has been made by the researcher before the teachers have a chance to consider their own attitudes. Within a critical study that focused on the treatment and situation of minoritized students, which is choosing to look at the ways in which the power dynamics of the institution influence the micro-interactions, it is a logical assumption (van Dijk, 2008).

But for the purposes of this study, which sought to explore the thinking of teachers in multiple contexts, it did not serve the line of logic. Instead, this assumption provided a gap

in the literature, and a gap in the understanding of how teachers think about language. How do individual teachers think about language when planning for their classroom? Are they also bound by this definition, or might they conceptualize language differently than the institution? Perhaps they are more in tune with a sociolinguistic perspective, considering student talk to be a valid and socially constructed mode of communication that they just do not have membership to. Perhaps when considering their students who are not from the United States, they are more in line with a World Englishes perspective (Seidlhofer, 2009). Or perhaps a teacher may approach languages in their classroom through something similar to O'Driscoll's venues approach (2013). Teachers may or may not be aware of the connections between their thinking and how the research arena has framed it (that task, of course, is mine as the researcher), but just as they may invoke language ideologies with varying degrees of awareness (Kroskrity, 2000a), they may move beyond the ethno/national boundaries of demographic language descriptions without awareness of having done it. Without explicitly talking to teachers about their conceptualizations of language, it would have been difficult to know how they frame language in their classrooms or in their thinking (Briggs, 1998).

The importance of studying co-curricular teachers. Another gap in the literature on teachers and language attitudes was the lack of academic subject variety in the participants. When examining secondary teachers, the majority of this literature focused its attention on content teachers, teachers of English, ELL, math, or science. But students do not learn solely in content classes. Many students spend the majority of their school time with co-curricular teachers, such as band, theater, choir, or visual art teachers. Students see content teachers usually for just one period a day, but if they are involved in after-school activities, most often managed and taught by co-curricular teachers, they see these teachers

for twice that amount of time each day, maybe more. If positive interactions with teachers lead to positive educational outcomes for students, then it is important to look at the thoughts of the teachers with whom students have the most potential and time for interactions.

It was also possible that co-curricular teachers have attitudes towards language that may be distinctly different from content teachers, especially from English and ELL teachers. How might their attitudes differ from those of a literacy teacher or a language teacher? It has been found that there are commonalities between language teaching and music education, for example, but this work was completed in the UK, which differs theoretically and practically from music education in the US (e.g. Dunbar-Hall, 1991). In the US, the focus is on strategies for teachers, like how to explain musical concepts to students who speak languages other than English (e.g. Abril, 2003). Notice that again, language was only addressed as a demographic box, as ethno/nationally bound, and teachers were not given a chance to explore their thinking on language.

There have been connections made between music and literature philosophically (e.g. Barry, 1987), as well as connections between music and language as forms of meaning-making (e.g. Robinson, 1997; Treitler, 1997). In fact, the composer Felix Mendelssohn considered music to be a more clear way of meaning-making than speaking. In response to questions about the meanings of his "Songs Without Words," he wrote:

> "The same words never mean the same things to different people. Only the song can say the same thing, can arouse the same feelings in one person as in another, a feeling which is not expressed, however, by the same words…Words have many meanings, but music we could both understand correctly. Will you allow this to serve as an

> answer to your question? At all events, it is the only one I can give, although these, too, are nothing, after all, but ambiguous words!" (Mendelssohn, 1950, p. 1201).

If those who create music are comparing the meaning-making of music with speaking, then what do those who teach students to be makers of music think? What does a music teacher think is the relationship between a musical content and language?

Connections between theater teaching and language are more common and perhaps less metaphorical than with music. As a content area, it is often constructed as a parallel curriculum to literature classes, depending on the teacher who is teaching. Some research has been done looking at the use of theater arts in foreign language teaching (Ryan-Scheutz & Colangelo, 2004; Smith, 1984), but how exactly theater as a content rather than a method connects to language use and learning was unclear. There has been work done that looks at the role of language in the theater as separate from literary language and language in use, but it was focused on professional theater companies, not theater teaching (Elam, 1977). So then how does a theater teacher conceptualize langauge? What distinctions does a theater teacher see between the languages students use in everyday life and the language they would use on/behind the stage? How does a theater teacher engage with their conceptualization of language in their teaching practices?

Then of course, Latin is the study of an actual language. On the surface, it would seem to be very similar to other language learning classes or perhaps literacy classes as well. But Latin is considered a dead language, no longer spoken naturally by any groups of people. It has been a part of what is called a classical education for years, focusing on translation, syntax, vocabulary, and structure, but not on speaking (Baker, 1906). In fact, Latin teachers on the whole believe that grammar plays an essential role in the learning of Latin, something

that sets them apart from many ESL teachers (Schulz, 1996). If this is the case, then how do Latin teachers conceptualize language differently from their language teaching colleagues? What role does the categorization of Latin as a "dead" language play in their teaching? What do Latin teachers understand as the purpose of learning Latin if it is not a language you can use to communicate?

On the whole, co-curricular teachers may have differing views on language, and, more importantly, may not have considered their views on language consciously. If that is the case, their attitudes could be influencing their interactions with students even while they are unaware of their own attitudes.

Research Questions

As discussed in Chapter One, and as outlined here through a review of the literature, the question remained: what "counts" as language in education? In order to explore this question within the gaps revealed in the literature, it was important to study the language and teaching attitudes of co-curricular teachers to better understand how they think about their students and their teaching, why they think that way, and what effect that thinking has on them.

When considering the multiple contexts within which teachers live and work, the remaining questions were as follows:

- What is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made?
- How do ideas about language get inscribed in the textual world of educational policies?

- How do co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in education, specific to the contexts they define?

My focus on these questions led me to specific methodological stances and practices, as described in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Methodology

After reviewing the existing literature, the research questions for this study focused on exploring the thinking of co-curricular teachers on language in education. The research questions were established as follows:

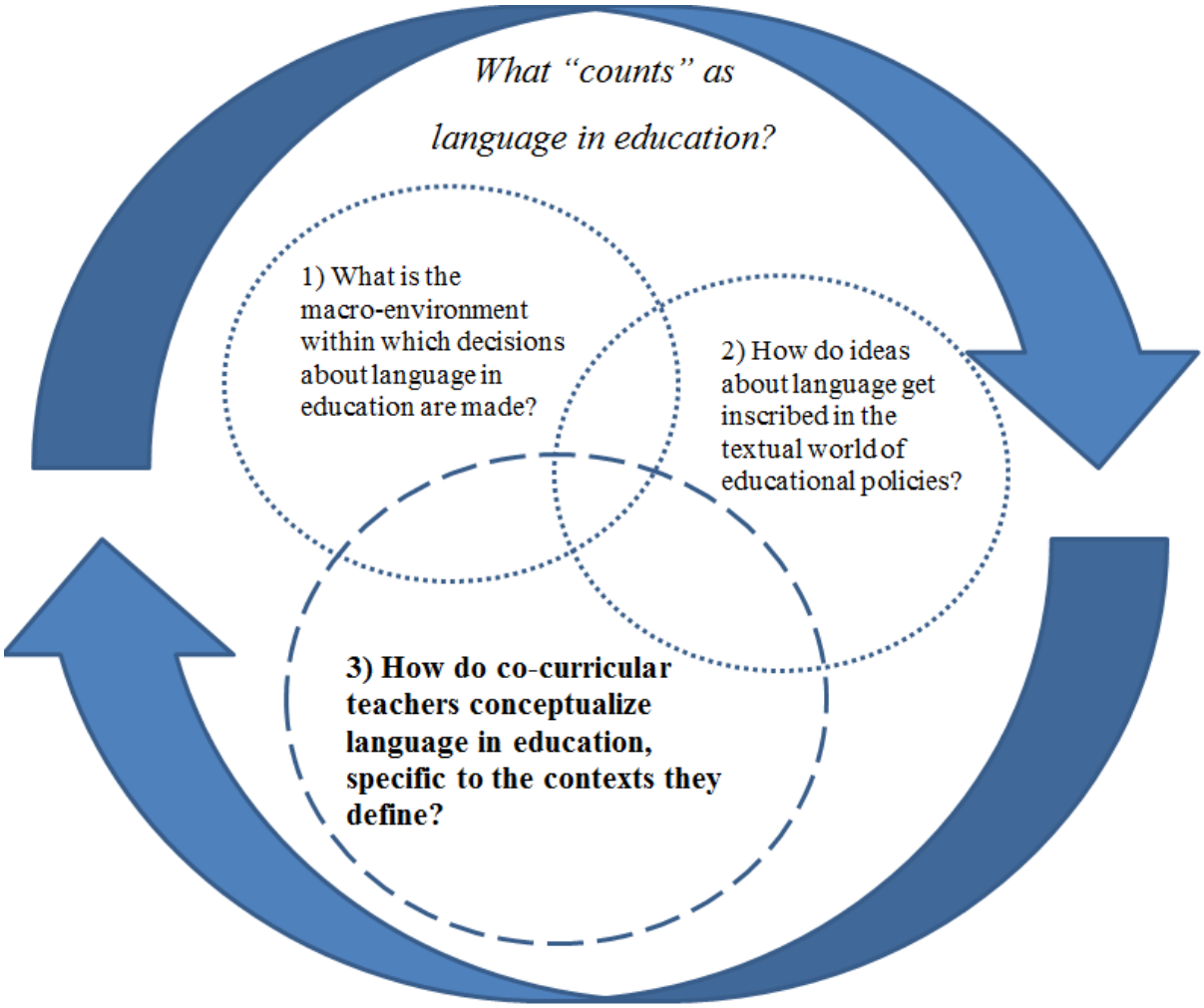


Figure # 1. Conceptual map of the research theme and research questions, showing directionality, relationality.

In this chapter, I examined the methodological considerations that follow the theoretical frameworks and previous studies I have presented, as well as the specific methodological

practices I engaged with towards my research questions. From the research questions, I conducted a three-faceted study:

1) an ethnographically based exploration of the macro-context within which the teachers work,
2) a discourse analysis of the policies in place within the macro-contexts, and
3) ethnographic participant interviews with individual participants.

Each of these facets spoke directly to the above research questions, and also warranted their own methodological exploration. I designed what Mitchell (1984) described as a telling case study. This case study was not created to be typical or generalizable or an example of good or bad activity – the purpose was to show something significant about what "counts" as language in education as well as the world within which teachers work and live. It looked at one of many different perspectives through ethnography, rather than searching for an absolute truth or understanding (Clifford, 1986; Gebre, Rogers, Street, & Openjuru, 2009). In this case, the study looked at co-curricular teachers working within Clark County School District, in Las Vegas, Nevada.

The chapter proceeded as follows:

- theoretical explanation of what it means to take an ethnographic stance (Green, Skukauskaite, & Baker, 2012; Peshkin, 1982),
- the methodological practices I engaged in for each of the three facets of the study, including
    - discourse and textual analysis (Bazerman & Prior, 2004; Gee, 1999)
    - ethnographic interviews (Briggs, 1986; Spradley, 1979)
    - concept maps (Novak & Gowin, 1984), and

    - reflexive transcription practice (Bucholtz, 2000)
- the changes in methodological practice as they unfolded within the study, included here for reasons of transparency,
- a description of the research site, Lincoln High School[2],
- descriptions of the participants, the co-curricular teachers here referred to as Travis, Sharona, and Daniel[3], and
- a description of additional data collected in the exploration of research question #2.

Ethnographic Stance

Sociolinguistic stances work neatly with the ethnographic process. Since the research questions I have established focus on language attitudes of teachers and language ideologies present in their situational context, and since my thinking aligns theoretically with Agar's (1994) concept of *languaculture*, it follows that I should engage with a methodological stance and process that focuses on the social construction of culture and language. Reflexivity is an important part of my research project as well. Thinking back to my time as a high school teacher, I recognize that I wanted people to listen to me, to take into account my background and my thoughts when discussing my teaching. I was uncomfortable being lumped into a demographic or professional group, and rather wanted to be seen as the individual I felt I was. Ethnography as an epistemological stance provides all of this: the possibility of an open-ended question, the means to engage with participants in the manner they wish, and the necessity to be reflexive about both my own practice and thinking as a researcher and the practice and thinking of the participants as well.

[2] Lincoln High School is a pseudonym for the actual school site, in order to protect the anonymity of the participants.

[3] Also pseudonyms.

Walford explored the possibilities opened up for studying educational issues within ethnography and a foundational outline for educational ethnography (2008). Walford defined ethnography as a study of culture – it provides a way to define a culture through answering the questions "what's going on" and "how does this work" (p. 7). This is in contrast to the study of the question "what works." Walford defined culture as being "made up of certain values, practices, relationships, and identifications" and stressed that an ethnographer wants to discover what it means to be a member or nonmember of this group (p. 7).

Because ethnography is the study of culture, it also requires multiple methods and diverse data sources (Walford, 2012). The ethnographer must also acknowledge that they themselves are an instrument, and acknowledge the subjectivities they bring into their study. In order to enact this acknowledgment, Walford suggested that ethnographers be sure to base any claims about the culture of study on an empirical experience. Within those experiences, participant accounts should be given high status, and the ethnographer should be ready to let those accounts influence the ways in which the study may continue.

Heath and Street noted some distinctions to ethnographic approaches concerned specifically with language (2008). First off, they framed culture as a verb – "culture never just 'is,' but instead 'does'" (p. 7). Along with this comes a study-specific idea – Heath and Street noted that members of a culture use tacit meaning-making processes of which they are not always aware. Members may give explanations of these processes that do not fit with their observed behaviors. These explanations may be expressions of an ideal, rather than of actual behavior. But it is important to understand what the participant thinks about what they do, and to give credence to their words and thoughts, rather than discount what they say in favor of the researcher's interpretation of what they do (Briggs, 1998).

The way in which I engaged with ethnography fits with the ideas of Green, Skukauskaite, and Baker – ethnography as an epistemology, or a way of knowing (2012). Green, Skukauskaite and Baker framed ethnography as not just a methodology, or a tool for research, but as a way to learn and know, a concept that challenges the boundaries of research. Synthesizing many perspectives on ethnography, they outlined four principles of operation that guide the actions of ethnographers:

- ethnography is a non-linear system guided by recursive logic-in-use,
- the importance of leaving aside ethnocentrism,
- identifying boundaries of what is happening, and
- building connections between "one bit of life" and cultural knowledge (p. 312-314).

These four principles have been my guide in the creation of this project. Later in the chapter, I addressed the changes in the project as it evolved, thereby showing my recursive process and the changes in my thinking throughout the time of the study. Since the site itself had personal importance to me, and I was myself a teacher at the site for several years, leaving aside ethnocentrism was of the utmost importance. Although one of my reasons for choosing the site was because I had deep ethnographic knowledge of it, I am not the same person as my participants, and their views of the site and their experiences within it are no doubt different than mine in some ways. In order to approach them with the correct attitude, I need to perform the balancing act of not placing my own knowledge as correct over theirs, while at the same time not totally dismissing the knowledge I have.

For this study, I did not conduct a classic ethnography in the vein of anthropological work. I instead engaged in ethnography as an epistemological stance, considering my study through ethnographic eyes. Peshkin (1982) acknowledges that for many researchers,

choosing ethnography is one of inclination rather than solely rational choice. Although an ethnographic stance aligned with my study-specific research questions, on another level I chose to engage with ethnography because it aligned with my world-view. In this case, because I had deep knowledge of the site and knew the participants as friends before the study began, it also provided a way to frame the study with myself as an instrument and helped with recursivity. This meant that my own experiences should not be ignored, but rather discussed and interpreted as well.

Within an ethnographic stance, I designed a study that examined the language conceptualizations of co-curricular teachers, as well as the macro-context within which they live and work, and the textual world they were given. This was achieved by combining the accounts of the participants, a language ideological analysis of district and school level texts, and my own knowledge of the site and of the participants as whole people. Now I will turn to the specific methodological practices I engaged in in order to examine the research questions.

Methodological practices and study design

When designing this study, my main goals were two-fold: to engage in methodological practice that would be true to my ethnographic thinking, and to "do" research that would directly answer my research questions. Because I wanted to know how teachers conceptualized language, and to explore their thinking with them, I needed to talk to teachers. For my talks with the teachers, I planned and carried out ethnographic interviews, focused around the creation of a concept map, and then analyzed the interview data through discourse analysis. But my research questions also necessitated knowledge of the language ideological environment the teachers existed within and created around themselves. To examine that I needed to look at what counted as language in the larger context of state and district policies.

In order to contextualize the interviews with the teachers in this manner, I conducted an additional discourse analysis of several texts from the district (websites, newsletters, educational standards) and the school level (website, memos to teachers).

However, before exploring either the textual world or the thinking of co-curricular teachers as a micro-context, a macro-context needed to be established. By synthesizing my own ethnographic knowledge of life as a teacher in Nevada and Las Vegas, as well as drawing on historical documents, newspaper articles, census data, and geographical data, I was able to paint a picture of a moment in time – the macro-context of this telling case. This data will be explored in Chapter Four.

Discourse analysis. There were two additional data sources in this study: the first, various texts from the district and school level to establish the major language ideologies in the educational context of Las Vegas, NV; the second, the conversations with the participants to establish the language attitudes of co-curricular teachers in the contexts they would define. I chose to analyze both the written corpus of texts and the interview data using discourse analysis, but in the analysis of the texts, I have also utilized content analysis and multimedia analysis as well. For both of these analyses, I approached them as though they are under the larger theoretical umbrella of discourse analysis.

My research goal was to examine the language ideologies in the textual world of the policies of the state of Nevada and the Clark County School District, and then to explore the more individualized language attitudes and conceptualizations of the co-curricular teachers. I expected that the local social actors (the participants) would be engaging not just in the local conversation we were having, but in a larger conversation that included histories and ideologies (Bakhtin, 1986; Gee, 1999; Erickson, 2004). Language can be analyzed as

utterances, which are defined not by length or other prescribed measures, but rather by a change in speaker (Bakhtin, 1986). Discourse as such is made up of utterances, as larger linguistic units such as an interaction, a written text, a blog post, or similar (Stubbs, 1983). All discourse falls somewhere on a continuum from unplanned, which would be closest to natural speaking, to planned, which would be an utterance that was thought out before being created, such as a written, edited text (Ochs, 1979). Therefore, I am not talking about a close, linguistic analysis, but rather a search for the underlying functions of utterances, the metacommunication.

I engaged with critical discourse analysis, in order to speak to an institutional and social issue in the world (Gee, 1999). It is important to point out, however, that especially for the interviews I was not framing critical discourse analysis as the righting of a social wrong (van Dijk, 2008). In my mind, this implied that the teachers I was conversing with were involved in "wrong" actions towards students, and to assume that before designing the study would be to position them unfairly. My analysis of the textual world leaned more towards van Dijk's framing due to the anonymity of many of the texts. But when analyzing the discourse of the individuals, I believed it was important to give participants the benefit of the doubt, and approach them not as part of a problem but as part of a solution. To clarify: the social issue or "wrong" I was examining was the influence of language ideologies that are harmful to students in the educational discourse; the teachers were social actors who may have been engaging with these ideologies in complex but not necessarily wrong ways.

For the written district texts, I additionally utilized various facets of textual analysis in accompaniment with discourse analysis to look at how linguistic, rhetorical, and graphic resources are used to create meaning (Bazerman & Prior, 2004). I used relational content

analysis to begin my examination of district texts, as a starting place for further investigation into the texts themselves and how they are creating meaning. Relational content analysis goes one step further than conceptual content analysis, in which a concept is selected, coded, and counted to look at its presence in a corpus (Huckin, 2004). Beyond finding concepts in the text, I explored the relationships among the concepts I found, with a focus on language that refers to or categorizes language, speakers, or cultures in some way. A few of the district texts in my corpus are websites, and as such, call for a multimedia analysis. Using the approach for analyzing visual aspects of texts as outlined by Wysocki (2004), I looked at the ways in which the websites have been constructed – the colors, the shapes, the space, the map of the space, the size of the elements. In this way, I am able to make interpretations on the persuasive outcomes of the website itself, not just the content it is delivering.

Ethnographic Interviews. The purpose of this study was, simply put, to find out what co-curricular teachers think about language. In order to know what they think, I had to ask them. I planned interviews, or what are more accurately described as conversations, using the detailed instructions created by Spradley for ethnographic interivews (1979). Spradley defined interviews in general as speech events, and the ethnographic interview as a specific speech event that shares characteristics with casual conversations, but diverges in several ways. In fact, Spradley advocated thinking about ethnographic interviews as a series of friendly conversations that will teach the participant to respond as a participant, rather than as two casual speakers. This involved introducing ethnographic elements slowly, to avoid overtones of interrogation. The questions an ethnographer plans to ask must be open-ended and fit with the three ethnographic elements, which Spradley defined as:

- explicit purpose – it is the responsibility of the ethnographer to make sure the participant always understands where the interview is going,
- ethnographic explanations – it is the responsibility of the ethnographer to explain how to talk about culture to the participant, and
- ethnographic questions – which include descriptive questions, structural questions, and contrast questions about the participant's culture.

Briggs added that it is of vital importance that the ethnographer be reflexive about interviewing (1986). This entails continuously analyzing whether the interview is proceeding effectively according, and can involve reviewing the interview records with participants as well.

It is true that, in analysis and in some of the questions I posed in the conversations, I looked at what was unsaid, and the assumptions that implicitly framed the discourse (Heath and Street, 2008; Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998). But Briggs (1998) countered that this approach alone privileges the analyst, and favors the opinions of the researcher over those of the participant. Briggs instead took up an explicit talk approach, which he believed would minimize the risk of reifying the perspective of one group over another. I created a conversation protocol outline that contains direct questions about language and language attitudes as well as several other questions that may get at the research questions indirectly. The direct questions set the right tone in the conversations – one of openness, transparency and trust. I did not want the participants to feel as though I had a hidden agenda, or that I was trying to trick them into saying something they did not want to say. The conversation protocol outline that I used for all three conversations is included in the appendices (Appendix #1). To get indirectly at the participant's language attitudes, I asked questions

such as: “what languages do your students use at school/at home?” or “does your school have any language policies that you’re aware of?” In order to engage directly with the participants on the ways they think about language, I asked them directly about how they thought about language in their life, and asked them to create a concept map.

Concept maps. A concept map is a visualization created in order to map out and organize thoughts on a topic as they speak. As an English teacher, I had used concept maps to help students map out the complex relationships between characters in a novel, or their own thinking on the theme of a story. Often in schools they are referred to by the term “bubble maps,” or the more technical non-linear outlines. But concept maps can also be a helpful tool both for the researcher and the participants in interviewing. Novak and Gowin explored concept maps as a way for students to approach learning, but realized potential applications in interview settings since “ideas that are novel, powerful, and profound are very difficult for us to think about; we need time and some mediating activity to help us” (1984, p. 19). Creating a concept map can help participants organize their thoughts and ideas on the complex issue of language ideologies and their own language attitudes. It can also create the opportunity to observe what is and isn’t important to participants within the research context.

For all of these reasons, I chose to include the creation of a concept map by the participants to engage in direct conversation about language attitudes and language ideologies. I asked the participants to create a map of language in their life. Rather than ask solely about language in their teaching, I intended to gain a deeper understanding of how they conceptualized language in different contexts in their lives, to see if there were any significant differences between their thinking about their teaching and their thinking about other facets of their lives. I prepared prompts for the creation of the concept map, but on the

whole, the participants led the way. Concept maps are intended to be open-ended, to reflect the thinking of the participant rather than the researcher.

Reflexive transcription practice. After the conversations were concluded and the concept maps were created, I transcribed the words of the participants. Transcription is often treated as a given – one simply writes down the words that are said. But I would describe transcription as the art of translation – translating oral language into written language. It was not possible to completely remove myself as the researcher from the transcription process, no matter how prevalent the myth of objectivity may be. Lapadat and Lindsay said that transcription is "inherently theory-laden" (1999, p.64). With theory comes the necessity for conscious choices before action, to be sure that the method of transcription is conceptualized within the bounds of the theoretical frame. Patai also described transcription as the "point of intersection between two subjectivities – theirs and mine" (1988, p. 2). A conscious presence is a researcher's best tool – awareness of the inherent subjectivity of the process of transcription is a must.

Mischler considers that due to subjectivity, different transcripts are really "constructs of different worlds, each designed to fit our particular theoretical assumptions…they have a rhetorical function that locates them within a larger political and ideological context" (p. 271, 1991). Green, Franquiz, and Dixon continued this concept, describing transcription as a situated act, and "a political act that reflects a discipline's conventions as well as a researcher's conceptualization of a phenomenon, purposes for the research, theories guiding the data collection and analysis, and programmatic goals" (1997, p. 172). They also focused on transcription as a multi-faceted representation of not only the participants, but also the

researcher. They clarified the importance of recognizing the transcript as a partial representation, and as shaping and shaped by what can be known.

Since transcription is so much more than "words on the page," it was necessary to proceed reflexively, using what Bucholtz called reflexive transcription practice (2000). Reflexive transcription practice requires that a researcher acknowledge the limitations of their interpretive choices in transcript, including awareness that choices are interpretive. Bucholtz also warned against two extremes of naturalized transcription and denaturalized transcription. Naturalized transcription involves changing what was spoken into a literary form, and makes the process of transcription less visible. Denaturalized transcription remains as faithful to oral language as possible, sometimes making speech seem odd or alien. Regardless of the intention of the researcher, Buchotlz concluded that any transcription is open to conflicting interpretations, and the researcher should be aware of that fact.

Involving participants in the transcription process as an expert is one way to aid the process of reflexive transcription. Poland advocated for giving participants the opportunity to verify the transcripts, in order to make that their original meaning was not lost in the transition from oral to written language (2002). Oftentimes, the words that are pronounced by participants may not communicate exactly what they meant, especially out of context. Hammersly cautioned against treating the transcripts as an infallible or almost sacred text (2012). The transcript is a representation of oral language, but should not overtake the object of study. For these reasons, I planned to transcribe the conversations in poetic form (Patai, 1988), attempting to find that balance Bucholtz (2000) discussed, and then request that the participants review the relevant sections of the conversations that I would be presenting and interpreting.

Changes in design and reasons for changes. Lareau and Shutz acknowledge that it is necessary to reflect on and report the twists and turns of the ethnographic research process in order to truly be reflexive (1996). Keeping with the recursive process of ethnographic practice, I would like to take a moment to catalogue the important evolution of the study and of my thinking as the study progressed.

Ethnography is usually a methodological combination of interviews and participant observations (Lareau and Shutz, 1996). Before contacting schools or participants, I planned to include an aspect of participant observation in this study. But a necessary change in research site led to a stricter time line that did not leave enough time to work with a school on permission for classroom observations. There is still potential within this study to extend it into a study that aligns what a teacher thinks and says about their language attitudes and how their classroom interactions and practice may reflect those attitudes.

Earlier on, I had planned to conduct group interviews, as laid out methodologically by Gumperz (1972). The group interviews would have been an effective way to generate natural speech, and the social obligations between participants take precedence over attention to the recording instruments. But here, the very reason I wanted to speak to co-curricular teachers became a stumbling block. I wanted to speak to co-curricular teachers because they spend a large amount of extra-curricular time with students as well as during the school day. However, their extra time spent with students made scheduling a group interview between the three participants a difficulty. I was unable to find a time that would work for all three participants, or even two of them at a time.

The changes made were necessary to the journey of the project, and molded my research questions along with a review of the literature. I have made methodological choices

purposefully towards answering the questions, both in theory and in practice. One of the most important decisions was that of a research site. Given my ethnographic stance, I chose a school I had worked at for four years as an English, ELL, and choir teacher. I will now turn to an ethnographic description of this research site: a high school in the Las Vegas valley.

The Site: Lincoln High School

Lincoln High School opened in a growing suburb of Las Vegas in 2003. The architecture of the school was based on the same floorplan and blueprints as several other high schools in the district, but was flipped in order to better fit the plot of land it was built on. Figure #3, although not Lincoln High School, is another Las Vegas high school of the same architectural plan.

Figure #3. A example high school from the Las Vegas Valley with the same architectural plan as Lincoln High School.

The school is surrounded on two sides by walled and gated housing developments that were built at the same time as the school. On the third side is another housing development and a stake (Mormon church) of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. On the fourth side is an empty lot of scrub and dust that was purchased by a development company and then abandoned after the recession hit.

Besides houses and the Mormon stake, there were only three places within easy walking distance: a bar, The Village Pub, and Roberto's Taco Shop. Two large blocks away is the bar/gaming establishment, which is 21+, and therefore not available to the high school students. However, it is frequented by groups of teachers of a Friday night after school. This place has been the site of end-of-school catered social events for the entire faculty and staff. Then, about four blocks away are two restaurants that students are able to go to. Both are members of huge local restaurant chains – The Village Pub, which is a sit-down restaurant with paintings of large ships on the walls and dark wood paneling, and Roberto's Taco Shop, a counter-service Mexican restaurant that has a line of students out the door after school gets out. Student groups at Lincoln high school could be guaranteed to generate student interest in a fundraiser if it was tied to Roberto's somehow. The Carne Asada fries were the food mascot of the school.

The school named itself "A Classical School" in 2003, and the name has stuck. Originally, there was an entire curriculum base that revolved around the "classical" name, but over time, the curricular options changed. The motto of the school still reflects this: "A premier school with classical traditions."[4] The mission of the school also mentions the a classical program: "[Lincoln] High School, through a classical studies program, prepares

each learner to reach his or her academic potential in a content-rich environment for a life of scholarship and artistic appreciation in a democratic society." At its inception, this meant that all students were required to take a Latin language class as freshman, called Introduction to Classical Studies, and the school adopted the Paideia Method (Adler, 1998) as a classical model of teaching and discussion.

The school continues to offer a Classical Studies curriculum, including Latin I-III with honors classes at each level as well as an Advanced Placement (AP) section, Mythology & Folklore (two sections, one for freshman and one for upper-classmen), Culture & Humanities, Classical Studies I and II, and Philosophy I and II[5]. These courses are all taught by two teachers in the Classical Studies department. There is still an Introduction to Classical Studies course, which is required for all incoming freshman at Lincoln. However, the curriculum has changed substantially – it is no longer a Latin language class, but focuses on teaching study skills, like note-taking and annotating readings. The class does use some aspects of the Paideia method, mainly the discussion techniques, but for the most part, it is a completely different course than originally intended. This class is also taught by social studies teachers in the school, who are technically a part of the Classical Studies department, but may have other teaching duties outside of that. The Classical Studies department also runs two after-school groups – the Junior Classical League (JCL) and Varsity Quiz. The groups have overlapping enrollment, and most of the students are also in upper level Latin classes during the day.

[4] The motto and mission of the school are quoted directly from the school website, but to maintain anonymity, cannot be cited.

[5] From in the Lincoln High School course catalog.

Lincoln now runs on a block schedule, which means that students can take 8 classes in a semester. One of the purposes behind block scheduling is the ability of students to take more classes, especially co-curricular classes like theater and music. At Lincoln, all of these co-curricular classes are housed under the Performing Arts Department, which consists of the theater, band, orchestra, and choir programs. Each program is taught and run by one teacher, and the teachers on the whole spend about double the time with their students as content teachers, due to after school activities that they run.

Lincoln offers a full load of theater classes, including Theater I/II/III, Theater Tech I/II/III, Film Studies I/II, Advance Study Performing Arts and Advanced Study Theater Tech. All classes are year-long courses, and at the levels above I are audition only. The theater program performs at least three shows a year – one or more dramatic plays, sets of one-act plays directed by senior students, and a musical in accompaniment with the band/orchestra/choir programs. Students who participate in the after-school plays must also be enrolled in the theater courses during the school day. In addition to after school productions, students can also be a part of the Lincoln High School Players, a group that meets once a week and performs for state (Nevada Thespians) and national (Thespians) competitions and conferences.

Band at Lincoln High School has perhaps the most offerings for students. Students meet the high school band director when they are still in middle school, as the band director spends about one hour a week visiting the bands at the middle schools that feed into Lincoln, helping out and guest directing. When students arrive to Lincoln in 9th grade, they may already have a relationship with the band director, or at the least, they have met him and know a little bit about him. Students start with Beginning Band, which is just for 9th graders

or for newcomers to an instrument. Then there is Intermediate Band, Concert Band, and Advanced Band. All students are required to participate in Marching Band in 1st semester, which has lengthy after school meetings as well as class time during the school day. In 2nd semester, students may join Jazz band, which also meets both after school and during the school day. There is also a Percussion Ensemble course and a Rhythmic Precision course, both of which also have school day and after school meetings. Percussion Ensemble is for the students who are a part of the school Drumline team as instrumentalists, whereas Rhythmic Precision is the course for the Color Guard, the flag bearers, dancers, and baton twirlers in Drumline.

Many students at Lincoln High School are involved in extra-curricular and co-curricular courses. Having contextualized the school, next I will present a closer look at the students who attend Lincoln High School as a whole.

Students at Lincoln High School. Lincoln High School serves approximately 2,499 students in 9th through 12th grade. The students mostly live within walking distance, although there are four buses that deliver students to and from school. Figure # below shows the ethnic demographics of the student population. There is not a majority ethnic group of students at Lincoln, but the two largest groups are White (32%) and Hispanic/Latino (26%). On the whole, the Lincoln student population is more diverse than the district as seen when comparing Figure #4 with Figure #5.

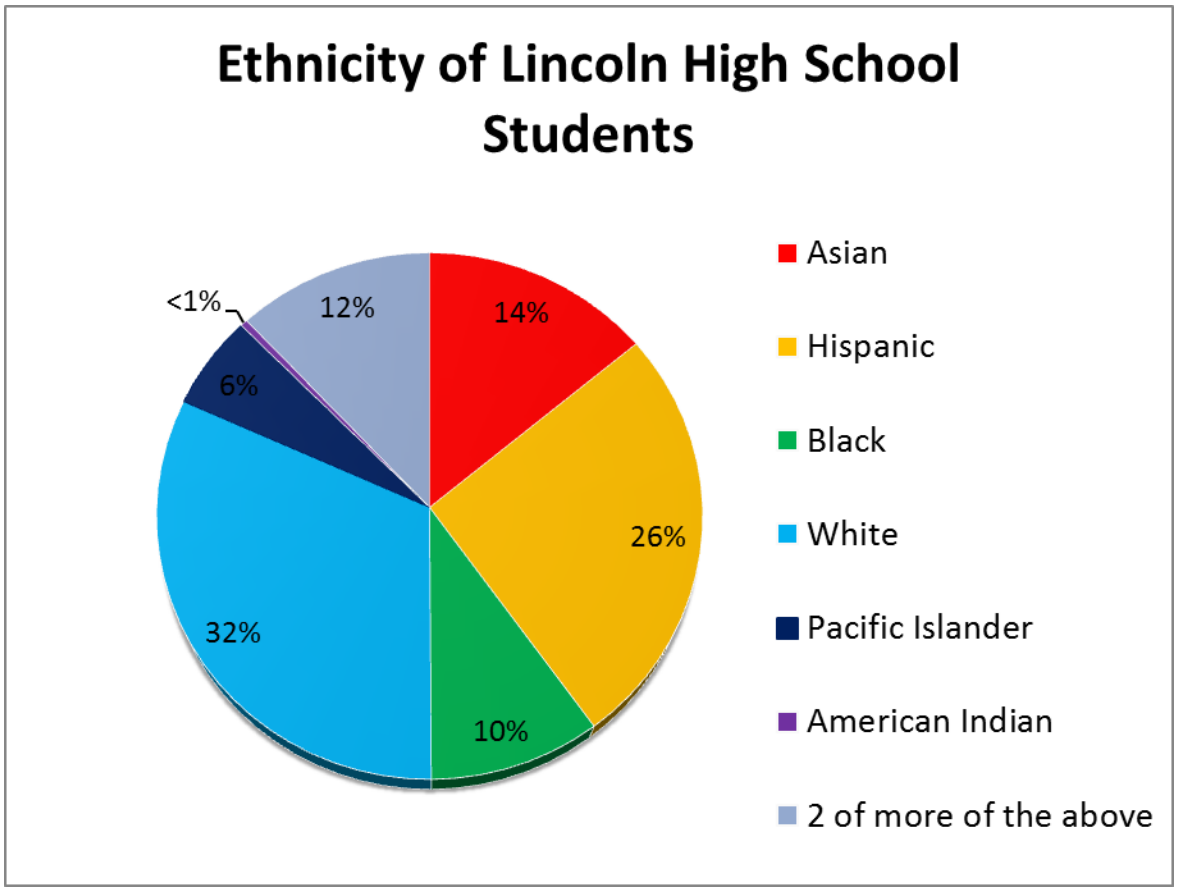


Figure #4. Ethnicity of Lincoln High School Student Population[6]

[6] Data compiled from 2013-2014 School Accountability Report from Clark County School District. To maintain anonymity, I have removed the specific citation.

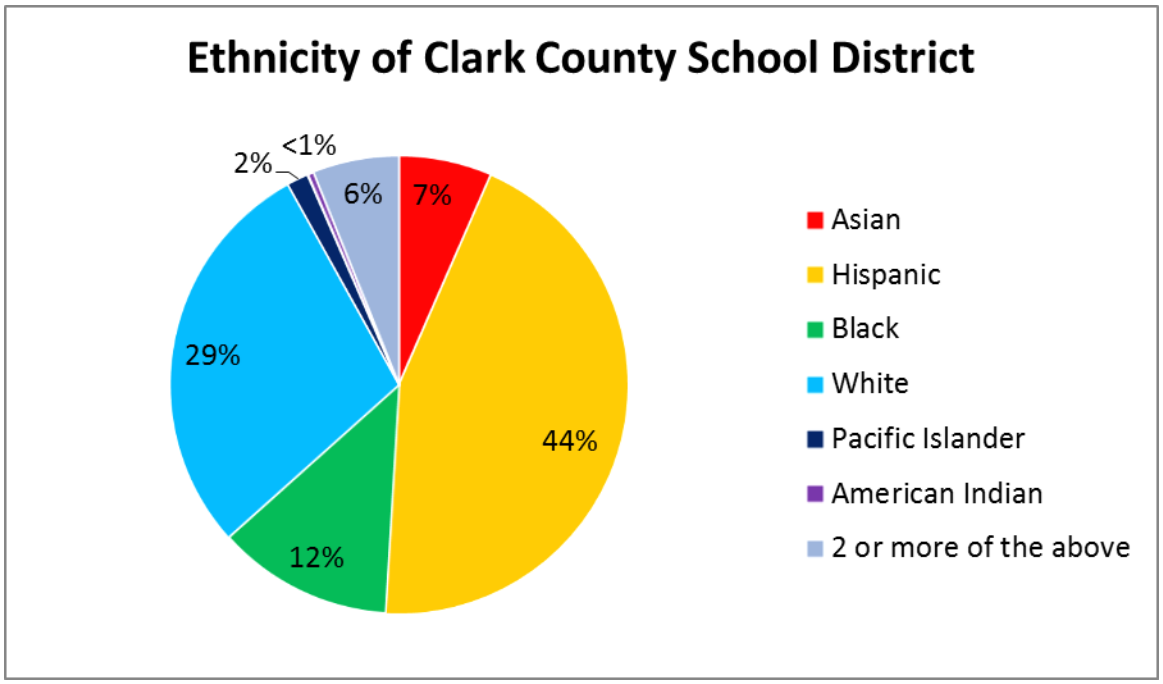


Figure #5. Ethnicity of Clark County School District Student Population.[7]

When compared to the entire Clark County School District (Figure #), Lincoln has higher percentages of Asian students (14% at Lincoln; 7% in the district) and Pacific Islander students (6% at Lincoln; 2% in the district). Also, Lincoln's higher percentage (12% at Lincoln; 6% in the district) of mixed race students reflect Pacific-Islander heritage as well Most of the Asian students identify as Filipino – in fact, for a time, Lincoln High School offered classes in Tagalog, as a heritage language class. Lincoln still has a large club called Gawad Kalinga, whose focus is to raise money to end poverty in the Philippines and build homes.

Even though not in a majority, Pacific-Islander cultures are a spot of pride for the school – Lincoln is the only school in the district to offer a Polynesian club, which focuses on

[7] Data compiled from 2013-2014 School Accountability Report from Clark County School District. To maintain anonymity, I have removed the specific citation.

traditional dancing, and enters competitions in California. The players on the successful Lincoln football team are majority Pacific Islander, with more than half of the coaches identifying as Hawaiian. The "feeder" football team of elementary aged students call themselves the Rainbow Warriors, after the name of the University of Hawaii mascot. One of the most iconic and school-spirit driven activities at the school is the Haka, a traditional war cry, dance, and challenge from the Maori people in New Zealand, which the football players perform at the beginning of each game.

Lincoln High School has 9% of students with Indivualized Education Plans (IEPs), which is in line with the rest of the district. There are substantially less students receiving Free and Reduced Lunch (FRL) than in the district – 36% of students are labeled FRL, as opposed to 57% at the district level. Lincoln's English Language Learner (ELL) population is also much smaller than the districts (3.5% at Lincoln; 16.5% in the district). However, this number can be misleading. The ELL percentage represents students who are currently receiving services from the ELL program. So although only 3.5% of students at Lincoln are being tracked by the ELL program, many more students speak more than one language. Since multilingualism is not tracked directly by the district or the school, there is no percentage available for how many students are multilingual. Also, there is no direct information available for how many students speak a variety of English, such as AAVE or Chicano English, or how many students speak a variety of Spanish such as Spanglish.

When I was teaching at Lincoln, I would hear another language than English at least once in a class period in my non-ELL classes. Many of the Filipino students enjoyed speaking Tagalog together, or incorporating Tagalog into their English conversations as well. Regardless of their fluency levels, students who had Hawaiian heritage used Hawaiian words

such as “mahalo” in exchange for their English equivalents. A student in my creative writing class created a Hawaiian phrase book for kids for our children’s books unit – she was very pleased that I knew the meaning of her last name in Hawaiian. Her name was Hanawahine, which means strong woman. Although a small population, the Chinese students I knew at Lincoln were exited from ELL, but spoke almost exclusively Chinese to each other. I was the advisor for the Student Organization of Latinos (SOL) at Lincoln, and the officers of SOL often chose to run their meetings in Spanish or in Spanglish. Only two or three of their 40 members were still receiving services for ELL. My “next-door neighbor” teacher was fluent in both Spanish and Portuguese, and regularly spoke both languages with students as we welcomed them into our classrooms.

Of course, these are all ethno-nationally bound languages. Many of the black students I knew switched between what they would call school English and AAVE, in conversations between me and their peers. I had a student whose parents were from Ghana who, in one interaction, seamlessly responded to me in “school English,” discussed her writing with her friend in AAVE, texted something to her mother in French, and then began working on a Latin assignment. When I commented on all the languages she had just used, she laughed and waved it off as ordinary.

Although the statistics do not show it, the linguistic landscape of Lincoln high school is rich and diverse. Many of the teachers would, however, consider themselves to be monolingual. Now, knowing more about the students, I will focus on the teachers that interact with them on a daily basis.

The Participants: Co-curricular teachers at Lincoln High School

The participants in this study were all teachers that I knew before the study began. I chose each of them because they were co-curricular teachers at Lincoln high school, and therefore spend a vast amount of time interacting with students. I was also familiar with all three of their classrooms physically. I had seen them interacting with students before, and I knew them all to be positive in their interactions with most students, not overtly given to discrimination against students individually or as groups. They were all three teachers that continue to be in high esteem with the administration at their school, as well as running programs that necessitate and have strong parental support. I felt they would discuss the topics with me and be open to exploring their thoughts in a conversation with me as well.

I contacted all three participants over Facebook Messenger and then we conversed and set up interviews over email. I have constructed Table #2 below to give the basic background information about each participant.

Table #2.
Background information about the three participants

	Trevor	**Sharona**	**Daniel**
Subject	Band	Theater	Latin/Classical Studies
Years teaching	5	14	18
Years at Lincoln	4	13	9
Age	27	57	41
Gender	Male	Female	Male
Ethnicity	White	White	White
Places Lived	California Arizona Las Vegas, Nevada	Illinois Missouri New York Texas North Carolina Las Vegas, Nevada	Virginia Las Vegas, Nevada
Languages spoken	English "some French"	English	English Latin "semi-functional in Italian" Ancient Greek
Date of Interview	December 12, 2015	December 12, 2015	March 6, 2016
Place of Interview	Coffee Bean Coffee Shop in Las Vegas, NV	Café Rio Mexican Restaurant in Las Vegas, NV	over Facetime – Daniel was in his home in Las Vegas, NV

Trevor. Trevor has been the band director at Lincoln High School for almost four years. He taught for one year at a middle school in Las Vegas before coming to Lincoln. He was born in California, but has lived his whole life since he was six weeks old in Las Vegas. He even graduated from a nearby high school to Lincoln. After that, he went to Northern Arizona University for his undergraduate degree in music, and then earned his Masters Degree in Education as well. He is a trombone player, and has been in bands of different levels – as a student in middle school, high school, and college band; as a professional in a drum corps; and now as a band director at a high school. He teaches Intermediate Band,

Advanced Band, Color Guard, and Marching Band, both during the school day and after school and on weekends as well.

Sharona. Sharona is the theater teacher and director at Lincoln High school. She has been working at Lincoln for 13 years, almost as long as Lincoln has been open. She has lived in several different states in the US, including Illinois, Missouri, New York, Texas, North Carolina, and now Nevada. She was born in Illinois and grew up there, then went to school in Missouri. Sharona earned her undergraduate degree in theater from Stephens College in Columbia, Missouri. After that, she worked as an actress in New York for a while. Her husband had a job in the nuclear industry, however, which caused them to move around a lot, and she ended up working odd jobs like as a beautician and an administrative assistant for a dance studio. She did not end up in Las Vegas until her husband began work as a technical theater professional. At that time, she earned her Masters in Education from the University of Nevada Las Vegas, and then began teaching, for one year at another high school and then on to Lincoln. She teaches all of the theater classes as well as a Film Studies class.

Daniel. Daniel is a Latin and Classical Studies teacher at Lincoln High School. He grew up in Virginia and earned his undergraduate degree in Classics and Theater from William and Mary College. He went on to a licensure program and is licensed to teach Latin, English, and Theater. For his first six years of teaching, he taught Latin and Drama in a rural public school in Virginia. During his time teaching here, he was also an advisor for Junior Classical League, Student Government, Model UN, and even a tennis coach. After that he moved to Nevada and taught Latin, Forensics, and English when needed for three years at another Las Vegas High school.

Daniel has been teaching at Lincoln High School for nine years. He has taught various Classical Studies courses at Lincoln, including Mythology, Logic and Rhetoric, as well as the Latin courses. Continuing on from his own experiences as a high school student, he has spearheaded growth in specific after-school programs at Lincoln, specifically the Junior Classical League (JCL) and Varsity Quiz. Technically all of the Latin students are a part of JCL, but there is a core of about 30 students that are heavily involved and participate in all aspects of the league.

The Textual World: The Corpus of Policy Texts

In order to explore the textual world as described in research question #2, I compiled a corpus of eight texts from the district and state levels. I chose these texts systematically based on the following criteria: availability to the public, variety of social construction, and explicit connections to language policies. I wanted texts that were available to the public, not just to teachers or school officials. I focused on texts that I could find online, from the websites of the district and the ELL program to the various texts they linked to. As I discussed in Chapter 2, language ideologies are socially constructed, so I also looked for texts that had been created by a committee or a group, not by an individual. It is not that language ideologies cannot be traced or found in individual writing. But by looking at texts written by many people, I could see the language ideologies that were most prevalent in the environment. By looking at texts that addressed language directly, I could see not only the implicit language ideologies, but also the explicit policies that the district/state had agreed upon as important. Each of the texts I have chosen fit at least two of these characteristics. Table #3 examines the varying characteristics of the texts in the corpus.

Table #3.
Characteristics of the texts in the corpus from the state and district level.

Title	Length (if applicable)	Intended Audience	Availability to Public	Created by	Connections to language
Nevada English Language Arts (ELA) Content Standards	66 pages	Teachers and Administrators	link to pdf found online	State level committee of administrators and educators	The guidelines for language arts in the state of Nevada
Nevada ELA Standards website	--	Teachers and Administrators	online	State level web design employees; Language by state ELA administrators	The introduction to the ELA standards
Nevada English Language Learners (ELL) program website	--	ELL Teachers and ELL Administrators	online	State level web design employees; Language by state ELL administrators	The introduction and overview of the ELL program in the state of Nevada
Clark County School District (CCSD) ELL Program Teaching Guidelines	4 pages	ELL Teachers	online	CCSD ELL Program administrators	The guidelines for teaching ELL at different levels and ages for teachers of ELL students
CCSD ELL Program Procedures Manual	80 pages	ELL Teachers	link to pdf found online	District ELL Program Administrators	Addresses language policies that pertain to actions of school administrators and ELL teachers
CCSD ELL Program Newsletter	12 pages	ELL Teachers and ELL Administrators	link to pdf found online	ELL Area Facilitators	Addresses the current state of the ELL program and highlights the

					different learning programs happening in the areas of the district
CCSD ELL Program Master Plan	--	Administrators, ELL and otherwise	online	ELL Program Administrators and Office of the Superintendent	Lays out the changes taking place in the ELL program and clarifies what the most important goals of the program are
Job Description for ELL Facilitators	2 pages	Potential applicants and the job search committee	link to Word document found online	Office of the Superintendent and Search Committee	Describes the professional tasks of an ELL facilitator

The ELL Program in Clark County changed in 2015, and several of the texts I have analyzed here are from before this change. It is important to still analyze these texts, since they do not disappear permanently, but are built upon ideologically with new mission statements and master plans. So I have added three texts to examine any ideological shifts that may be occurring in the district as a whole: the new ELL Program website, the ELL Master Plan Summary, and a public memo from the Superintendent. I analyzed all of the above texts in Chapter Five.

From here, the methodological considerations and practices of the study, I will turn to the analysis of the data, beginning with the environmental macro-context of Nevada and Las Vegas.

Chapter Four

Environmental Macro-context: Ethnographic Description of Nevada

In this chapter, I address the first research question, as highlighted on the conceptual figure:

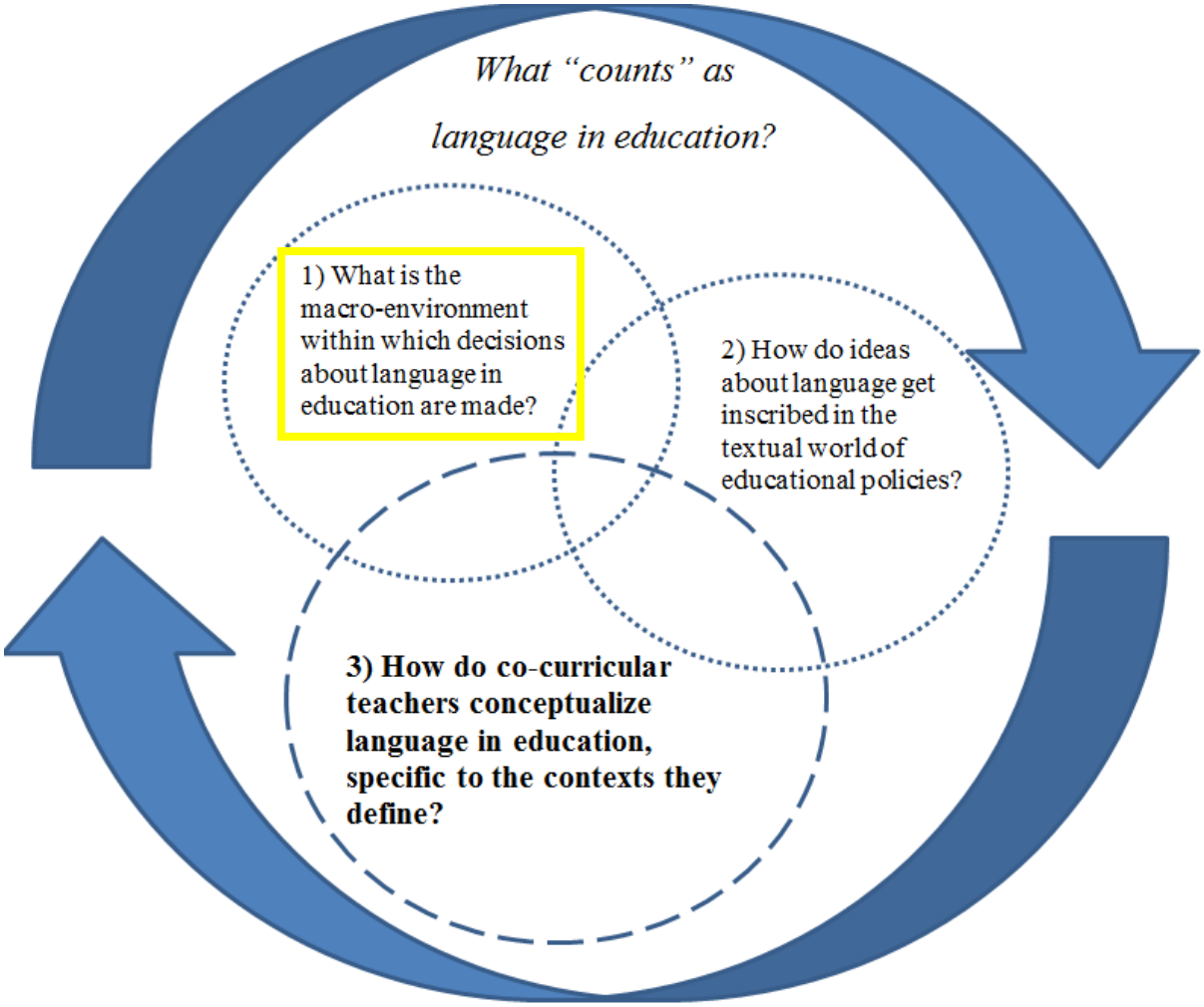


Figure #6 . Conceptual map of the research theme and research questions, showing directionality and relationality, and highlighting research question one.

The question is: what is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made? Before exploring the textual world in which policies are created, or the thinking of co-curricular teachers, first I established the macro-context of Nevada and Las

Vegas. Lincoln High School[8] is in Las Vegas, Nevada, a city that is historically unique in the United States. Awareness of this and the part it plays in the educational environment of Las Vegas[9] was crucial to this study. The community itself is aware of the unique history, and the impact that history has on education in the state. The state, in fact, includes a standardized test on the Nevada state constitution and Nevada history as a licensure requirement for educators (Nevada Department of Education, 2012). Through a historical overview, and an outlining of key moments in more recent Las Vegas history, I show the fluctuating extremes that are a part of everyday life in the community, and in which the ideas of what counts as language.

The Silver State is "Battle Born"

Nevada's history swings back and forth on the pendulum between extreme wealth and extreme scarcity. Before it became a state, Nevada thrived as a territory with multitudes of productive silver mining towns expanding all across its area. It became a state in 1864 during the Civil War, in a bid to gain more electoral votes for President Lincoln, leading to its motto: "Battle Born." Since its inception into the Union, it has struggled to maintain economic stability -- the silver mining that had created an residential population and money was not sustainable, nor was the environment many of the towns were in. Nevada is mostly desert and semiarid climate, with an area of 109,781 square miles, and very little water to speak of (United States Census Bureau, December 1, 2015). By the late nineteenth century,

[8] The school name as well as all participant names are pseudonyms chosen by the author and the participants themselves.

[9] I will be using "Las Vegas" to refer to the entire Las Vegas Valley area. This includes the following incorporated cities/suburbs: Henderson, Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, Blue Diamond, Enterprise, Paradise, Spring Valley, Summerlin, Sunrise Manor, Whitney, and Winchester.

Nevada was on a downward swing, running out of water, running out of the means to mine silver, and running out of residents. The population dipped so low, approximately 40,000 for the whole state, that the federal government considered revoking its statehood.

But the pendulum swung up again, oddly and in contrast to the rest of the country, during the Great Depression. Nevada legalized gambling, created lax divorce and marriage laws, and became the site of a huge public works project – the Hoover Dam. The state population rose back up, but the smaller towns did not resurge. Instead, two metro areas emerged,– the tri-cities of Reno, Sparks and Carson City in the north, and Las Vegas in the south. Between the two is a nine-hour drive full of unpopulated desert, ghost towns, seemingly empty military installations, and, like a fast food mirage, a McDonalds in the halfway town of Hawthorne.

Former students of mine from Lincoln High School follow a Facebook page curated by a comedian called "Vegas Issues" (2015). The following meme from the page shows not only what the majority of the state of Nevada looks like, but also the difference in insider and outsider concepts of the state.

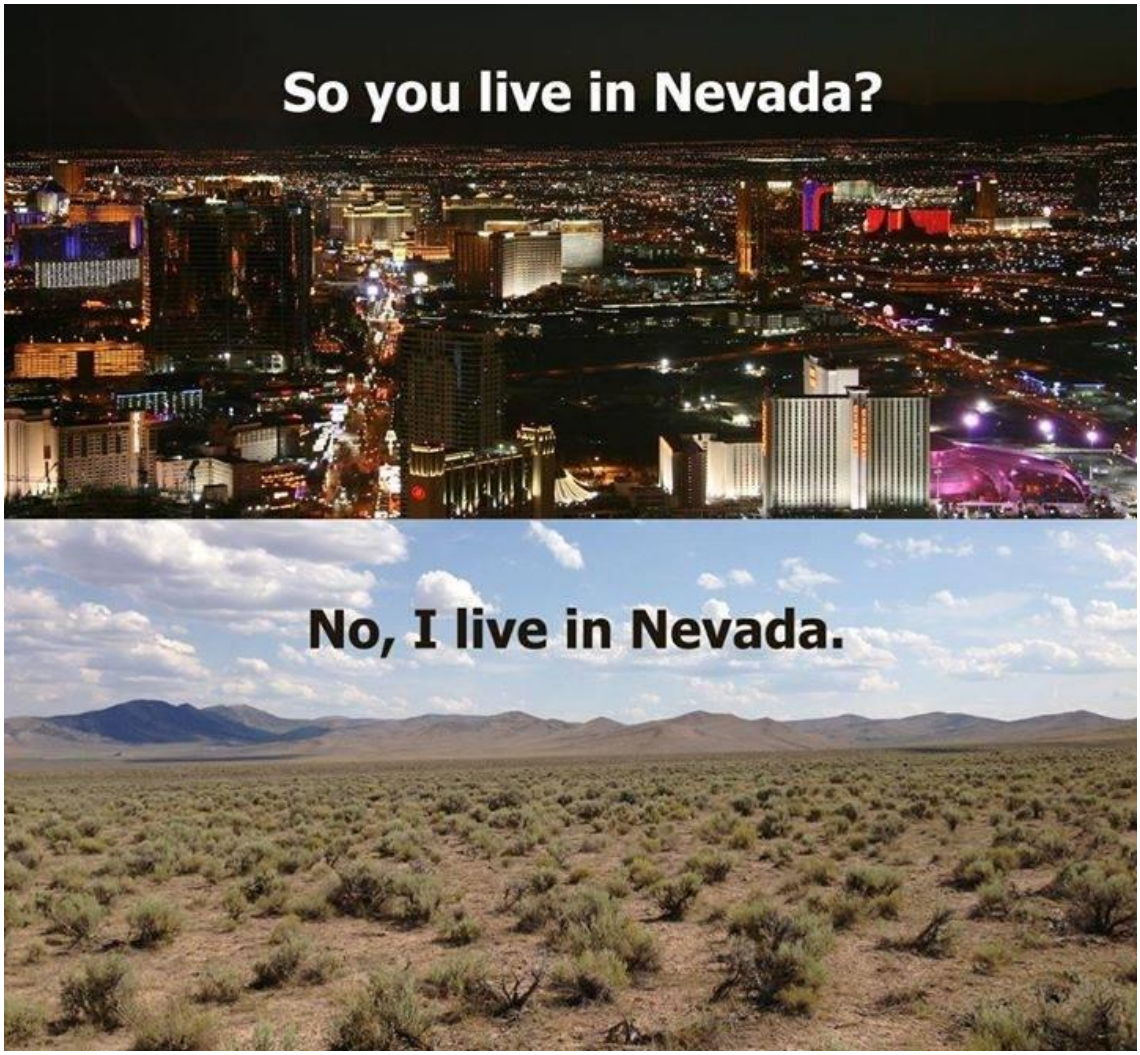


Figure #7. Meme showing The Strip contrasted with the natural environment of Nevada (Vegas Issues, August 5, 2015). This post has 2,539 likes, 77 comments, and has been shared 2,683 times

For my first two visits to Nevada, I experienced the area as a tourist – I flew into Las Vegas, and did not stray more than 10 miles from The Strip, pictured in the top part of the meme. But when I moved there, I lived in suburban areas far from The Strip, where as soon as you ventured to the city limits, the bottom part of the meme is the view for miles and miles. The development I lived in was at the southern edge of the city, aptly named "Mountain's Edge," and had been built on a newly sold parcel from the Bureau of Land Management (BLM).

In fact, 80% of Nevada is owned by the BLM. Although Nevada is the seventh largest state in the US, it ranks thirty-fifth in population, 2,700,551 as of the 2010 census (United States Census Bureau, December 1, 2015). In the following population density map, you can see that the majority of people live in just two counties in the entire state, and most of them live in Clark County, where Las Vegas is.

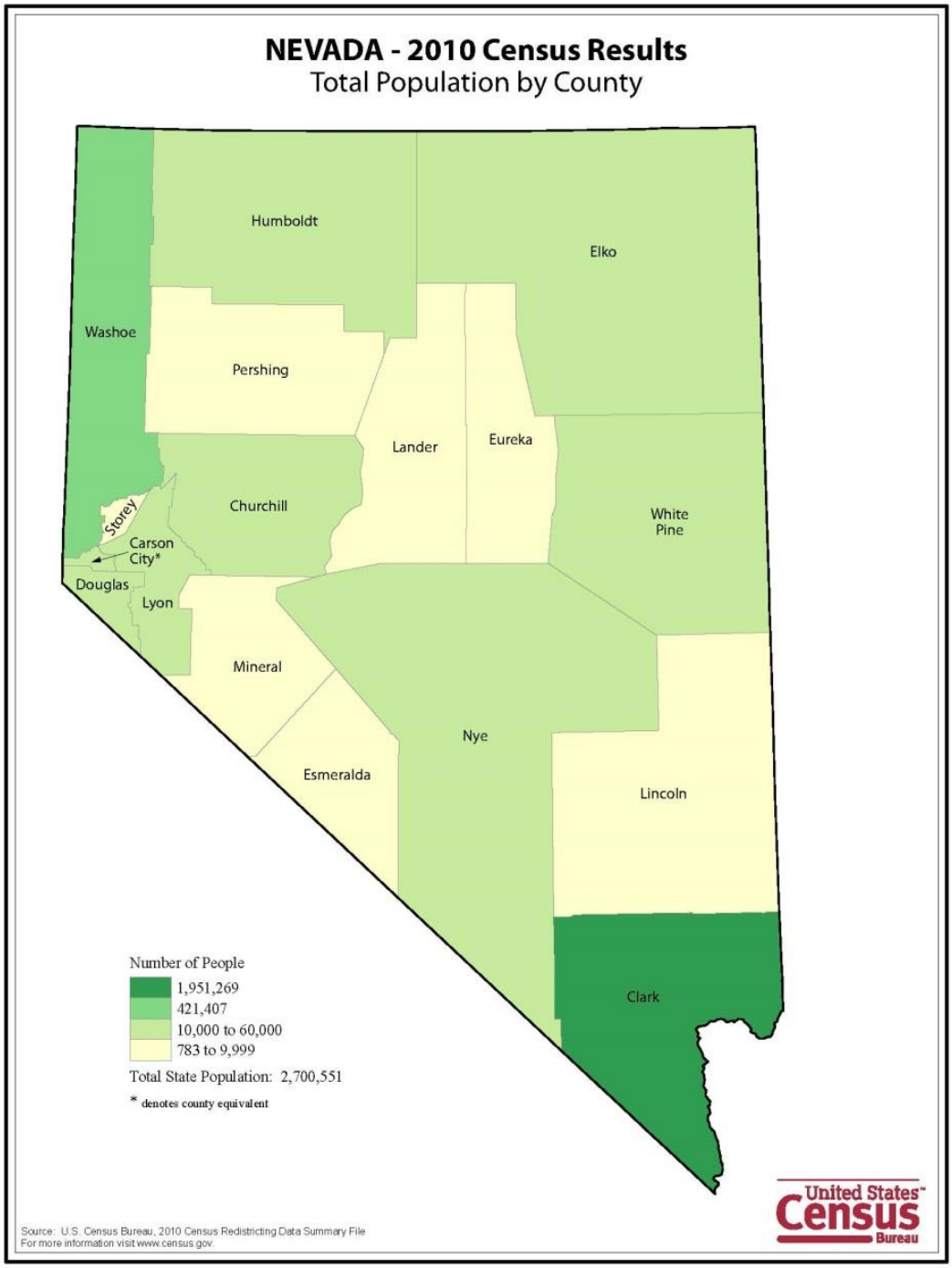


Figure #8. Population density map of Nevada (United States Census, 2011).

Like many other states with large uninhabited areas (i.e. Wyoming, Alaska, South Dakota, or Texas), Nevada has no individual income tax. In addition, Nevada also has no state corporate taxes either. This means that the state revenue, which funds education, comes from sales taxes and the gaming and mining industries – gaming being the largest contributor (Dzombak, 2014). So whenever the national economy shifts downward, gaming tourism slows down in Las Vegas, and the whole state economy shifts downward dramatically. This leaves the state in a tenuous economic situation, relying on only three major sources of revenue in order to keep government services running well or at all.

What Happens in Vegas

Since the majority of economic power and raw population in the state resides in Las Vegas, the majority of political power resides there too. Although Carson City is the state capital, many of the decisions made by the Nevada state government are made in the interest of Las Vegas or at the behest of its voters, lawmakers and lobbyists. Additionally, 71% of K-12 enrollment in Nevada is in Clark County, which includes Las Vegas and the surrounding suburbs (Nevada Department of Education, 2015). What happens in Vegas drives educational policy choices, economic decisions, and all kinds of decisions related the governance of the state as a whole.

Since as a population, Las Vegas dictates what happens in the state as a whole, it is important to look at who makes up that population. The population of Clark County is majority White, but this majority skews older than school aged (see *Figure 3*). In schools, Latinos are the largest ethnic group county-wide (Amaro, 2014). Clark County is mostly working class, with a median household effective buying income of $41,576 (City of Las Vegas, 2015). About half (55% in 2011) of public school students qualify for free and

reduced lunch based on their parents' income level (Milliard, 2011). The majority of residents, approximately 70%, do not have any degrees from higher education institutions, and 46% of all residents have not attended college at all. This statistic puts teachers, who are required to have a Bachelor's Degree at minimum, in the minority for educational level.

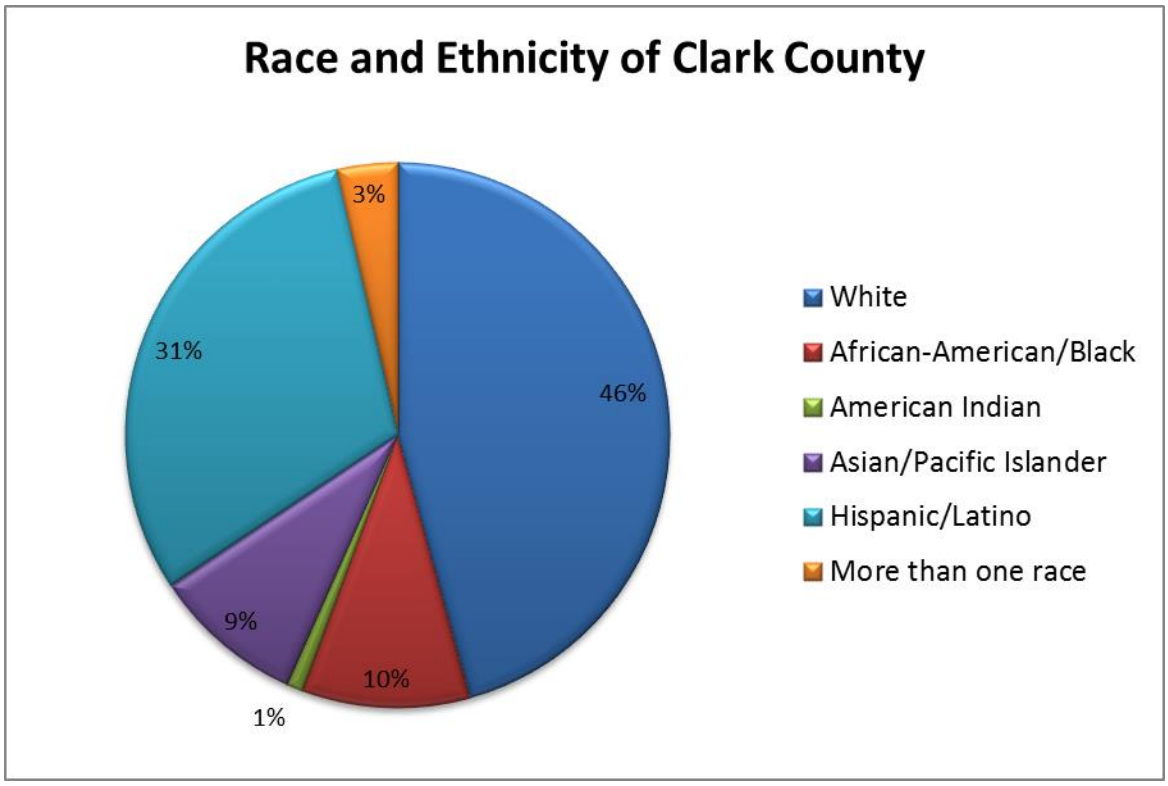


Figure #9. Racial demographics of Clark County from 2014 Census (City of Las Vegas Economic and Urban Development Department and Redevelopment Agency, 2015)

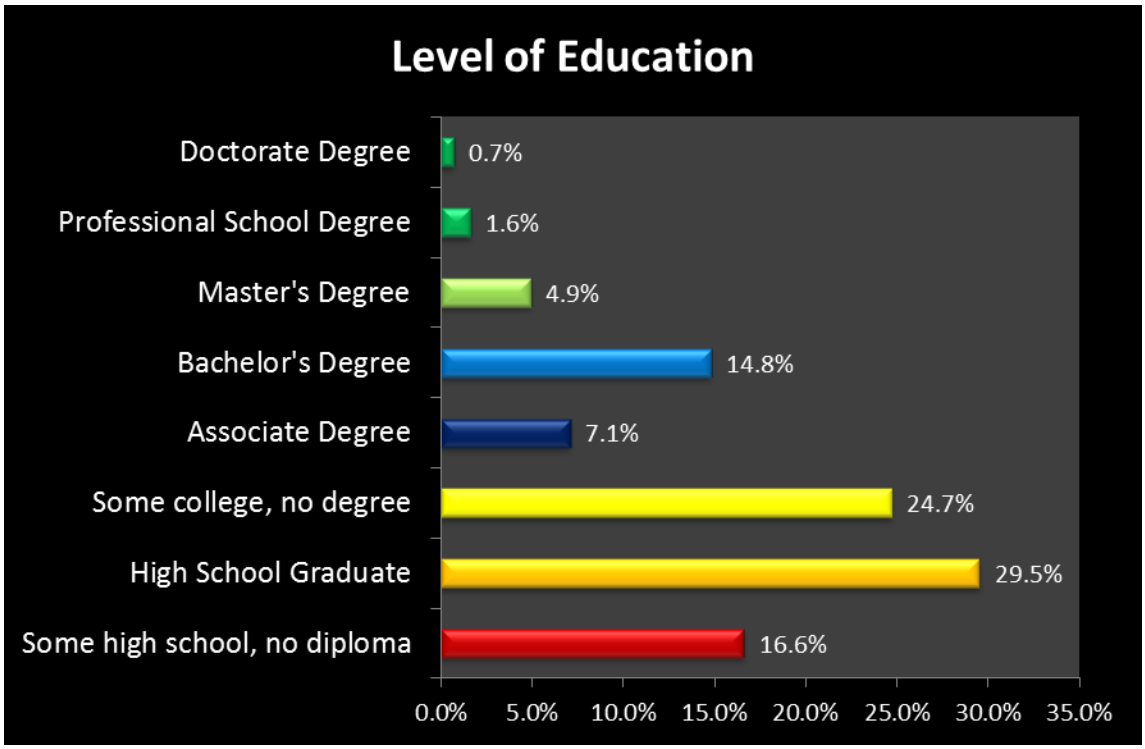


Figure #10. Educational demographics of Clark County from 2014 Census (City of Las Vegas Economic and Urban Development Department and Redevelopment Agency, 2015)

Religion is an important demographical and influential aspect of Las Vegas life as well. Many consider the creation of the Mormon Fort at the Las Vegas Spring in 1855 to be the founding of Las Vegas, and the Mormon population has remained influential in the area. There are 24 stakes (Mormon churches) in the Las Vegas Valley, the same amount as Catholic churches (Diocese, 2015). Currently, about 5% of the Las Vegas population is Mormon (Green, 2014), who are majority white. But even though they represent a small part of the raw population, in the 2012 Nevada caucuses, 25% of the electorate identified as Mormon (Hamby, 2012), showing that although they may not represent the majority in the area, they may enjoy more political representation. Both of Nevada's U.S. Senators identify as Mormon, Sen. Harry Reid (D) and Sen. Dean Heller (R). The state Senate Majority Leader, Mo Denis (D), is also Mormon, and has served as the statewide Parent Teacher

Association (PTA) president. Also, a Mormon has been the mayor of North Las Vegas for more than 30 years, and for Henderson for 17 years.

Mormons have been major influences in the redefining of Las Vegas after the Mob era from the 1930s to the 1960s. Although most popular stories credit casino/hotel owners Howard Hughes and Steve Wynn (themselves not Mormon) with the shift in the gaming industry, their involvement actually began with an activist banker named Parry Thomas (Green, 2014). Thomas was the Mormon manager of the Bank of Las Vegas, an off-shoot of the Continental Bank of Salt Lake City. Thomas was the first banker to loan money to casino operators, but the loans were extensively catalogued, creating paper trails that put off illegal gamblers or mobsters, and therefore evening the financial field between casinos owned and operated by the mob and those that were not. Later, Thomas helped both Howard Hughes and Steve Wynn buy parcels for new properties. Hughes also employed an entirely Mormon staff as his assistants, confidantes, business associates, and advisors, colloquially known as the "Mormon Mafia."

As the least transient group in a transient city (Green, 2014), Mormons have exerted considerable influence on life in Las Vegas. Since as a whole, they do not move in and out of Las Vegas, they have a continual influence on the politics, culture, and educational tone of the Las Vegas Valley in a way that other groups perhaps do not. Next, I will start to look at both the history of the area and my own experiences there to paint an ethnographic picture and situate the reader in the context of the participants.

Educational outlook as a result of economic shifts. When I moved to Las Vegas in 2005 to teach, they were providing signing bonuses to teachers, as well as reimbursements for moving expenses. Money was so readily available in schools that my principal had received

district funding to incorporate *feng shui* principles into classroom design. The funding covered paint for classrooms, new furniture, some indoor landscaping, as well as resources for teachers on what exactly *feng shui* was. But when the subprime mortgage crisis and the U.S. recession began in 2008, Las Vegas reverted to a desert. Tourism dried up, gaming funds dried up, real estate dried up – any of the extra money schools had been enjoying dried up. Much of the relied-upon money to employ teachers and staff dried up too, leading to large pay cuts, pay freezes, reductions in benefits, and lay-offs as well.

Living there at the time, the recession was visible especially in housing. My own house was valued at $326,000 when I purchased it in 2006 – when I sold in 2011 its value had dropped to $97,000. A typical Las Vegas neighborhood can be seen in the meme in Figure 5. In fact, when I saw this meme, I wondered if it might actually have been from the development I lived in, so similar was it in look, style, and architecture. The coloring of paint on the houses, the cookie-cutter architecture up and down the block, the just-planted sapling trees, one per yard among xeriscaping of yucca plants and tan rocks makes for a very typical Las Vegas street.

Figure #11. A meme showing The Strip contrasted with a typical Las Vegas residential street (Vegas Issues, August 25, 2014). This post currently has 6,319 likes, 147 comments, and has been shared 3,669 times.

The development I lived in was new when I bought my house – fresh paint on the cinderblock walls, plans for public swimming pools, a new Western-themed park in progress. But the ghost town history of Nevada became a reality with the recession. On my block of eight houses, only two were occupied – mine and my neighbors. Renters would move in for a few months, then out again, and neighboring houses would sit dormant. For a whole month, the

smoke detector in the house across the street was going off – no one lived there, no one was even checking up on their property, so it just kept beeping and beeping until the batteries ran out.

The insecurity felt by the city as a whole peaked during the recession, but even on the upswing of economic growth, people move in and out of Las Vegas often. The average person lives in Las Vegas for 8.9 years, and only 1 in 5 residents were born in Las Vegas (City of Las Vegas Economic and Urban Development Department and Redevelopment Agency, 2015). The population is constantly changing on a micro-level, with people moving in and out quickly and often. For example, in Table 4, you can see the changing populations of the county from 2009 to 2013 – note that from 2009 to 2010, 55,000 people moved out of Clark County, but by 2013, 95,653 people had moved back in.

Table #4.
Population of Clark County from 2009-2013

Year	Population	Difference
2009	2,006,300	--
2010	1,951,300	-55,000
2011	1,966,600	+15,300
2012	2,008,700	+42,100
2013	2,062,253	+53,553

*Data Retrieved from City of Las Vegas Economic and Urban Development Department and Redevelopment Agency.

These population shifts are closely tied to economic prosperity in Las Vegas, and as people move in or out in large numbers, it affects job security for teachers. In 2007, when people were moving to Las Vegas, the district needed teachers desperately, and was looking to hire 565 teachers in July for a school year that would start in August (Richmond, 2007). Las Vegas offered quick employment for teachers who were losing their jobs in other parts of the country as the recession began to mount. But this did not last long, and in 2009, the school

district was asked to make $120 million in budget cuts – the governor called for a 6% pay cut for teachers as well as cutting all health benefits and freezing step or merit salary increases (Richmond, 2009). Cuts continued into 2012, when the school district planned to lay off 840 teachers and 175 literacy specialists to deal with a $64 million budget shortfall (Takahashi, 2012). These proposed lay-offs represented 6% of the district's 18,000 licensed employees. More recently, in 2015, the upswing began again, and the school district expected to have a teacher shortage of 2,600 teachers for the upcoming school year (Resmovits, 2015). Hirings look imminent, but the pendulum that is the Las Vegas economy will continue to swing, making employment insecure and uncertain especially for those who are newly hired teachers.

The Clark County School District is the fifth largest in the nation based on student enrollment (see Table #5).

Table #5.
The largest school districts in the U.S. by enrollment, 2012-2013

Rank	School District	Enrollment Size	Area of District
1	New York City, NY	1,036,053	468 mi^2
2	Los Angeles Unified, CA	655,494	960 mi^2
3	Chicago, IL	403,461	234 mi^2
4	Miami-Dade, FL	354,236	2,431 mi^2
5	Clark County, NV	311,429	8,091 mi^2

(American School & University, 2016; USBoundary, 2016)

What makes Clark County unique from the other four largest districts is the geographical size of the district as well as the distance to other districts/metropolitan areas. It is much larger than New York City, Los Angeles Unified, and Chicago, but it is also much more isolated than Miami-Dade as well. Looking at the map of Nevada, it becomes clear that there is nothing nearby once you are outside the county limits. The school district boundaries are set up by the Nevada state constitution, and to change those boundaries would require legislative

action. This process works for the rest of the state, where populations of counties are small and manageable, but for Clark County, where the population has grown far more than other Nevada counties, this form of districting has created challenges for the district itself. The districts have dealt with these challenges by dividing into Performance Zones, led by Assistant Chief Student Achievement Officers (similar to an Assistant Superintendents), and which can function as smaller districts within the larger district. However, funding is exclusively decided at the larger district level, so Performance Zones are not allowed to make independent hiring decisions separate from the larger district. So for example, if there are budget cuts in the district, the Performance Zones will maybe be able to decide what smaller cuts they will make, but all staffing decisions still go through the district.

This large district causes a unique problem for teachers and job security. For example, if you are laid off in any of the other four largest districts in the U.S., you might be able to find a new teaching job in a nearby school district without having to relocate, or without having to relocate very far. But in Las Vegas, if you are laid off, you either have to find a new type of work to stay in Las Vegas, or if you want to continue teaching, you have to move out of town. The rest of the districts in the state are much less likely to be hiring teachers due to small enrollment, so the most likely outcome is a teaching job in another state, or in Washoe County School District, where Reno, NV is. Reno/Carson City/Sparks would be the next closest in-state metropolitan area, and the tri-cities are approximately 450 miles away from Las Vegas.

Figure #11. The area around the Las Vegas Valley and surrounding suburbs, showing lack of commutable job options for laid-off teachers. Screen shot taken from Google Maps, 2016.

To illustrate the isolation of Las Vegas, and show the lack of commutable jobs for teachers who have been laid-off by the Clark County School District, I have taken a screen shot of the area surrounding the Las Vegas Valley (Figure #11). Every town pictured here in Nevada (with the exception of Pahrump) is a part of the Clark County School District, so no longer an option for employment if you have been laid-off. The next closest town with potential teaching jobs in Arizona would be Kingman, which is 103 miles by car. The next closest similar town in California is Barstow, which is 156 miles by car. Any other towns shown on this map have population bases too small to be hiring many teachers, or for some, to even have schools within them.

The chances of getting a new teaching job nearby if you are laid off from the Clark County School District are extremely slim. Teachers are aware of this, and this knowledge is one of the key points of conversation when the district is discussing teacher lay-offs. Job

security is a tenuous matter in Las Vegas if you are a teacher, and with the upswings and downshifts created by the local economy, it is difficult to know if you can rely on your position from year to year.

The Las Vegas Valley moves with these extreme variations, and the Clark County school district is in constant pursuit of policies and money saving measures to stave off the inevitiable underfunded down-swings. The ecology within which the teachers I will be talking to are working and living is so important towards understanding their context, and also towards understandings the challenges they may face that affect their educational decisions and their students lives as well – economic instability, financial insecurity, population movement and change, the real and metaphorical "desert environment" of Las Vegas. The city of Las Vegas itself represents one side of America, with its booming tourism, glamourous hotels, and neon glitz. Las Vegas is known throughout the world as a vacation destination, but it is not an eternal vacation for those who live there. But within this wider context, individual schools are able to create communities of their own within the larger district. Now I will turn to the second research question, focusing on the textual world created within this macro-context.

Chapter Five

Policy Context: Textual World of State and District Policies

Looking at the macro-context of Nevada's history, economy, and geography led to a deeper understanding of the environment that influences what "counts" as language in education. It also opened more questions as to the specific contexts of education in Nevada and in Las Vegas. I narrowed the breadth of study from the macro-context as examined in research question one to focus on the textual world of research question two:

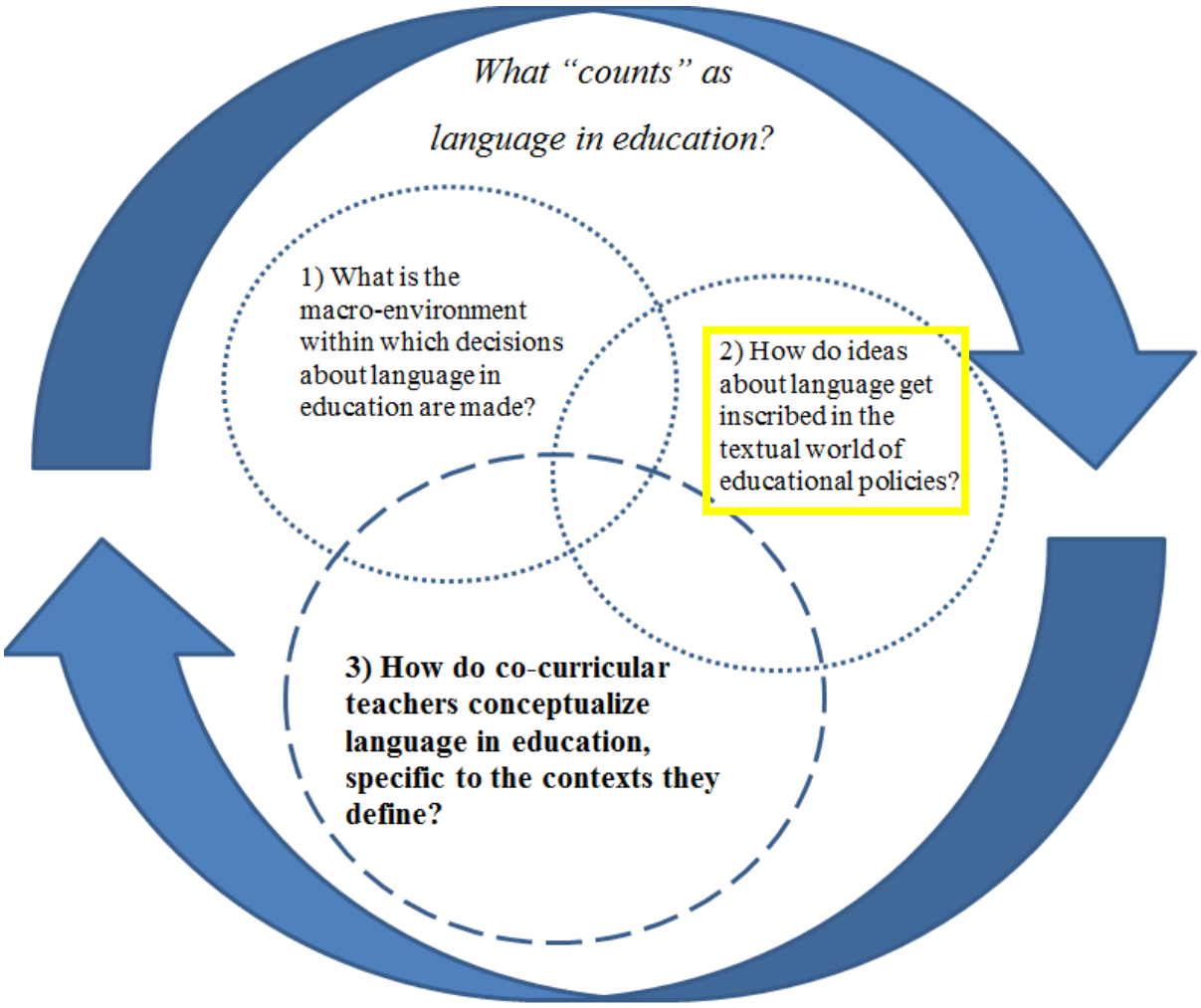


Figure #12. Conceptual map of the research theme and research questions, showing directionality and relationality, highlighting research question two.

In order to establish the larger ideological environment in which the participants live and teach, I conducted a discourse analysis of a corpus of policy texts from the district and state level. Within this larger analytical process, I also engaged in some specific analytical techniques under the larger umbrella of discourse analysis: content analysis and multimedia analysis. I investigated the institutional attitudes, assumptions and orienting theories of the Nevada's public education system generally and Las Vegas' educational system specifically, before talking to the teachers themselves. In this way, I was able to see what implicit language ideologies may be influencing the attitudes of the teachers, by looking at how language and ideas about language are inscribed in the textual world of the school district and the state.

I have framed this analytical chapter into three sections. First, the content analysis of texts that are procedural in nature, written towards an audience of teachers, in order to guide them in the work with language in school. The content analysis will give a grounding, or a large picture of exactly how language is positioned or discussed in the texts overall. Second, I examined the texts that were written towards an audience of teachers, parents, and community members with the intention of informing readers of the state of programs, the state of education, and the state of the district. I highlighted the most prevalent ideological stances in the entire corpus. This included supporting stances that emerged during the content analysis, as well as those that were not visible through that type of analysis. In the third section, I turned to the most current texts and compare them to the texts of the past – at the time of this study, the ELL Program was changing directions, and I was able to compare the past website to the current website, in order to highlight any ideological shifts.

Content Analysis

The purpose of this content analysis was to get a broad picture of how language, language learners, and language teachers are discussed, and to center in on emerging ideological stances. The texts in the corpus that directly address procedures or actions to be taken explicitly towards language learning were the focus of my content analysis. This included:

- Nevada English Language Arts (ELA) Content Standards,
- Nevada ELA Standards website,
- Nevada English Language Learners (ELL) program website,
- Clark County School District (CCSD) ELL Program teaching guidelines,
- CCSD ELL Program Procedures Manual,
- CCSD ELL Program Newsletter,
- CCSD ELL Program Master Plan, and
- the Job Description for ELL Facilitators

All of these texts provide guidance to administrators, teachers, and staff on the teaching of language. For this reason, I chose them as representations of the broader conceptualization of language and its purpose in schools. I included key information about each of the above texts in Chapter Three.

To situate this analysis within the world of the texts, I created a table which shows the words that appear the most, in descending order. I omitted prepositions and articles from this table – although looking at these smaller words can help to see the ways in which the texts have been constructed to create relationships or create meaning generally, I was specifically interested in language and how the texts construct various language ideological stances. I

have also omitted state-of-being or copular verbs from the table (such as are [408 times], is [367 times], and be [255 times]) to focus more on content that may be addressing language directly. I have not included any words with frequencies under 200, as I intended for this table to show that appear in the overwhelming portion of the corpus, whether in all of the texts or only some.

Table #6.
Most frequent words in the corpus.

Word:	Frequency:	Texts present in:
language	731	All 8 texts
students	605	All 8 texts
English	560	All 8 texts
standards	423	5 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 4) CCSD ELL Program Master Plan 5) Job Description for ELL Facilitators
text	407	3 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 3) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual
writing	327	6 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter 6) Job Description for ELL Facilitators
use	317	7 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter 6) CCSD ELL Program Master Plan 7) Job Description for ELL Facilitators
grade	275	5 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual

		5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter
ELL	266	6 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELL Program Website 2) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 3) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 4) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter 5) CCSD ELL Program Master Plan 6) Job Description for ELL Facilitators
words	231	5 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter
reading	227	5 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter
information	219	4 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 3) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 4) CCSD ELL Program Master Plan
school	216	7 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) Nevada ELL Program Website 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter 6) CCSD ELL Program Master Plan 7) Job Description for ELL Facilitators
they	214	6 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter 6) Job Description for ELL Facilitators
will	207	7 of 8 texts: 1) Nevada ELA Content Standards 2) Nevada ELA Standards Website 3) CCSD ELL Teaching Guidelines 4) CCSD ELL Procedures Manual 5) CCSD ELL Program Newsletter

		6) CCSD ELL Program Master Plan 7) Job Description for ELL Facilitators

"Language" was the most prevalent word in all of the texts, appearing 731 times in various contexts. This was not surprising, since I specifically chose these texts because of their explicit attention to language. "Students" came in next, and was in the plural form rather than the singular. The texts did not referring to individual student needs, but rather to groups of students, perhaps of differing classifications and demographics and needs. "English" was the first specific language to appear, and, as I will discuss later, was overwhelming the only specific language given much textual space or consideration in the corpus.

"Standards" appeared so frequently due to my inclusion of the actual state standards for English Language Arts. But since there were no specific standards for ELL in Nevada, its inclusion in ELL specific texts showed the attention to expectations or academic goals as defined by the state for ELL students. "Text" appeared mostly in the ELA Content Standards, and was presented as an object to be understood and a tool to transfer and find meaning. "Writing" was the most frequent action verb in the entire corpus, and therefore took up the most textual space – as such, I will analyze its usage more in the chapter. "Reading" appeared 100 times less than "writing," showing that despite the context each is positioned within, "writing" was at least given more consideration and time than "reading," or even than "speaking," which appeared less than 200 times. Therefore, "writing" may be the most encouraged and expected way to "do" language in schools in this context.

The last word on the table, "will," was a verb that showed future plans, expectations, and the desired course of action. Many uses of "will" occurred in the ELA Content Standards especially, but it was present in all of the other texts *except* the Nevada ELL Program

Website. Now having established a basic overview of what the texts are discussing, I engaged in an analysis of how the texts are framing and contextualizing their content.

The ideological story "language" tells. "Language" was the most prevalent word spanning all of the texts in the corpus, so looking closer at how it was used may give insight into the ideological frameworks upon which these texts were built. However it was not the word itself, but rather the contexts in which "language" appears in the text that provide insight into the ideological stances of the district. I addressed the multiple contexts individually, the ways in which they are used to construct the larger concepts of the text, and the ideologies that are emerging with each context.

Types of languages. Most often, language was used in phrases with the word "English" – "English language" appears 244 times. In contrast, "Spanish language" only appeared two times. Both references were in the ELL Program Procedures Manual, and were related to the actions necessary in the Dual Language programs --"administering the Spanish language proficiency assessment" to students, and a review of "the Spanish language textbooks and instructional materials" in the program. Curiously, Spanish appeared a total of 17 times, mostly in the context of communication with parents. even though it is spoken by the majority of the ELL student population. According to the ELL Procedures Manual, part of the purpose of the Dual Language Program was to "learn literacy skills in both English and Spanish." But it was mostly connected with the translating of forms, such as the "Home Language Survey (HLS) into Spanish." The authors of the new ELL Master Plan focused their sole attention to Spanish on forms "being provided in English and Spanish to provide parents and community members with in-depth information." It is true that most of the

students in the ELL program speak Spanish, but it is worth noting that the texts do not discuss translating the HLS or other forms into multiple languages.

No other specific languages were linked to the word "language" in these texts. Tagalog, Filipino, Vietnamese, Korean, and Arabic, which are some of the other languages spoken by students in the district, were referenced only once, in the ELL Program Newsletter. The reference was a list of languages spoken by the students in a section of the district, called Area 2: "home language spoken by our greatest number of students in Area 2 is Spanish, followed by Tagalog, Filipino, Vietnamese, Korean, and Arabic." Since this was the sole mention of these languages, they were absent from all of the other texts in the corpus. It is interesting that the authors of the Newsletter chose to list both Tagalog and Filipino in the list, and the inclusion of both showed understanding of the progressing political issues of language in the Philippines.[10]

Chinese was mentioned twice, but, as with Spanish, was not connected with the word "language." Both references to Chinese were not about Las Vegas populations at all, but were rather a part of an explanation of the case of *Lau v. Nichols* from 1974. In *Lau v. Nichols*, the court decided that receiving instruction solely in English denied a group of Chinese speaking students equal opportunity and access to education. The CCSD ELL Procedures Manual referred to this group of students as "non-English proficient Chinese students" and "non-English speaking Chinese students." These two phrases did hint at an ideological stance of deficit thinking – they were not quotes from other sources, but have been written by the authors. The focus was not on what the students do speak in contrast to

[10] The standard language in the Philippines has been Tagalog, but recently there has been a political push to reframe Filipino as the national language. Filipino emerged as a langauge in the 1980s based on constitutional change, and includes non-native words and sounds.

English, but rather that their proficiencies or speaking practices were the opposite of English – "non-English." This also placed the crux of the situation on the students – it is the students who are "non-English," rather than their teachers or educational opportunities being "non-bilingual." The negative prefix "non" calls to mind a deficit manner of thinking about language, positioning English as something a student must obtain, with other languages as challenges that must be overcome.

The texts used the phrase "language other than English" five times. In all five references, "language other than English" was connected to the home lives of students, or to their "primary language." It is important to note that this phrase is focused on singular rather than the plural "languages." In fact, this phrase always appeared with the singular "language." In comparison to the 731 references to "language" singular, the plural "languages" was present only 15 times. All fifteen references came from texts created by the ELL program – the Procedures Manual and the Newsletter. Outside of the ELL program, the idea of multiple languages was not present. These references focused on the Dual Language Program, discussing how students will learn "academic and social vocabulary in both languages" and how "instruction is delivered through both languages." Other examples reported the "languages represented" in the community, in the teachers, and in the students as well. The message here was that languages plural exist only in the realm of ELL, and then it was most probable that speakers know two languages. I will revisit and expand upon this concept when I discuss the use of the terms "bilingual" and "multilingual" in the text.

So if the authors of these texts have established that speakers only speak two languages, how were the texts identifying those languages? Specifically, how did the texts refer to all of the languages that students speak? The main broad language term was

"primary language," which appears 38 times in the corpus. "Primary language" was situated in a context of assessment, as in assessing the language of students when they enter the district. All references of this came from the ELL Procedures Manual. This usage also introduced the phrase "student whose primary language is not English," which brought into focus the central importance of English to students in the district.

Although many of the phrases used to situate the importance of various languages to speakers point towards the primacy of English, there was an interesting contrast to this idea. The phrase "target language" was used only once in the entire corpus, but it did not refer to English. "Target language" was used to refer to Spanish in the Dual Language program in the ELL Procedures Manual – "a portion of the instructional day is taught in English and another portion is in the target language." English was mentioned specifically, and it is reasonable to assume that "target language" refers to Spanish, since it was the only other language in Dual Language Programs in CCSD. Although it was the target of the instruction in this case, Spanish was not specifically mentioned.

"First language" was another term that was also used when discussing the languages students speak. "First language" was used four times, three examples of which come from a definition list at the end of the ELL Procedures Manual. In the definition of native language – "primary or first language spoken by an individual" –primary or first languages were only used with a variant of the verb "speak," never write or read. Within these omissions, "first language" was given its task – to be a language that is spoken only, which by extension means it had very little use in an educational environment focused on reading and writing skills.

In contrast, the ELL Program Newsletter used "first language" in a positive light. The example from the newsletter described code-switching to the teachers as "a strategy in which English language learners moved back and forth between their first language and English using words and phrases from either that allowed them to express their thoughts." Here a student's "first language" was placed as equally useful to English. But again, the focus here was on speaking. I will revisit this example later, as this explanation of code-switching in the ELL classroom contains several contrasting ideological statements which were worth closer examination.

"Home language" was used sparingly in the texts – all thirteen instances referred to the Home Language Survey (HLS). At no other time was it used to describe student languages. Given this, the context of "home language" was not really about home at all. "Home language" was a term to use in school contexts only, in order to differentiate between what happens at home and what happens at school. Since it was always connected to the HLS, it was more about what those at the school could expect from a student and their perceived ability than it was about actual home practice. "Heritage language" was totally absent from all of the texts. This did not necessarily mean the ideologies in place ignored the heritage a language may embody or represent for a student, but it did mean that they might not consider that to be of the most importance.

"Second language" was another term that appeared frequently – forty-two times – but interestingly, it was not used to refer to students. "Second language" only appeared as a part of two larger terms: English as a Second Language (ESL) and Teacher of English as a Second Language (TESL). Both terms were used to describe other things, but not to describe students. ESL was used to describe schools, programs, classrooms, learning, strategies being

utilized, and the acquisition of, whereas TESL was used solely to describe a teaching endorsement. It would appear that "second language" did not directly refer to any language in particular, or even to the literal second language a student may speak, but rather was in place to categorize school practices. So even though it appeared more frequently than "primary language," "second language" was not really referring to student languages at all.

So what was the ideological story that "language" tells throughout the corpus? Putting all of these contexts together, the following ideological stances about language emerged:

- language is a singular idea, not plural;
- speakers are limited to two languages that they can speak;
- English is the most important language for students;
- languages other than English are a hindrance to learning;
- languages other than English are for speaking only, and for outside of school.

These stances are situated in deficit thinking, or the idea that languages other than English are obstacles to learning, and must be overcome. It does not necessarily mean that the policies of the district were striving for erasure of other languages directly, but that was nevertheless the tone that comes across.

The purpose of language. Another way to consider the ideological stances in the corpus is to look at how the texts frame the purpose of language. Phrases or contexts that focus on the purpose or the goal of language in the district can illustrate deeper beliefs about what language is for and what potential role it plays in schools and in students' lives.

One word that appears again and again is "proficiency." "Proficiency" appears 120 times in all of the texts and "proficient" appears 55 times. Approximately one-fourth of these

references are made about assessments, mainly the English Language Proficiency Assessment which is used to code the English Proficiency Status (EPS) of ELL students. The EPS of ELL students is assessed once a year through the LAS Links test, which is administered through the central district ELL Program, not by teachers in the schools. Another fourth is also in reference to coding students – "proficient" is used in one of three phrases, "Non-English Proficient," "Limited English Proficient" or "Fully English Proficient." These are the classifications or codings of the English Proficiency Status. The other half of the references focus on the need to gain proficiency quickly. The ELL Teaching Guidelines note that "secondary ELL students must begin writing as quickly as possible in order to achieve proficiency in the short amount of time available to them." In the ELL Procedures Manual, teachers are encouraged to help ELL students learn "concepts at the same level as other students in CCSD while acquiring English language proficiency as rapidly as possible." Whatever purpose students have for the English language, the district requires that they learn it posthaste.

"Proficiency" as a term implies that there is a level of "good enough" which is all students need strive for. In contrast, the descriptor "competent" appears only once in all of the texts, in the ELL Procedures Manual to describe "a person who is competent in reading and writing English" as determined by one of the district-wide ELL assessments. "Competence" itself appears 11 times in the ELL Procedures Manual and the Nevada ELA Content Standards. It is used in some phrases that align with additive language thinking such as "communicative competence," "sociolinguistic competence," "cross-cultural competence, and "sociocultural competence," but all of these references are in the definition list at the end of the Procedures Manual, not in the body of the text. "Comprehension" appears 46 times,

solely as a measure of assessment in the ELL texts, as in a way for facilitators or teachers to assess how much a student has acquired of a language, rather than about student understanding of a concept or content. In the word "resource" is not included in any of the texts.

Actions and Language. If the purpose of language learning in CCSD is to become "proficient," then there must be certain actions students can undertake to gain proficiency. Three verbs in various forms – speaking, reading, and writing – are the verbs most used in language contexts. In the following table are several categories of actions connected with language, and the frequency with which they appear in the texts.

Table #7.
Frequencies of the action categories speaking, reading, writing, and listening.

Category:	**Word:**	**Frequency:**
Speaking [243]	speak	34
	speaking	119
	speech	40
	speaker	20
	oral (as adjective)	23
	talk	7
Reading [370]	read	119
	reading	227
	reader	20
	written cues (object of reading)	4
Writing [466]	write	101
	writing	327
	writer	2
	written (as adjective)	36
Listening [149]	listen	7
	listening	84
	listens	1
	listener	5
	hear	4
	heard	3

In the ELL texts, speaking is seldom seen alone, but rather is in some combination of the categories above, most often "comprehend, speak, read, and write." So if the context is exclusive to students who are learning English, speaking is treated as one piece of an academic routine. By contrast, the ELA Standards treat speaking as an action by itself, positing that students will "speak audibly," "speak clearly at main ideas or themes," "speak clearly at an understandable pace," and "speak in compete sentences when appropriate," as a few examples. Most of the standards on speaking focus on completing the action itself with some determined characteristic, rather than about the content being spoken about.

As established earlier, words about writing take up the most textual real estate in the corpus. As such, writing appears to be the most encouraged or at least talked about way of engaging with language that is school or English appropriate. Writing in both the ELL and ELA contexts is framed as a technical practice rather than a form of expression – "write complete sentences," "write correct sentences," and "write proficiently" are examples that appear in both contexts. But in the ELA Content Standards, the focus is on the content of the writing as well, but mostly as a vague and broad extension of technique in the form of genres of writing: "write more sophisticated compositions," "write arguments to support claims," "write opinion pieces," "write informative/explanatory texts" and "write narratives to develop real or imagined experiences or events using effective technique, well-chosen details, and well-structured event sequences."

Perhaps the broadest statement about writing states that students will "write routinely over extended time frames (time for research, reflection, and revision) and shorter time frames (a single sitting or a day or two) for a range of tasks, purposes, and audiences" (p. 44). But all of the statements in the standards are referring to use of English, not of other

languages. The purpose of writing in school is plainly dealt with in the Nevada ELA Standards Website: "Students write for a variety of purposes: to inform, to persuade, and to entertain." This is a statement presumably about *what students do,* but as it goes with the standards themselves, it is really a statement about *what students should do*. It does not necessarily reflect the actual purposes of students in writing at school, but rather reflects the purposes designed by the school district for the students.

Words dealing with the action of "reading" are only slightly less used than words dealing with "writing." As earlier established, reading and writing appear to be the most acceptable ways to engage with language in the CCSD schools, regardless of a students' language classification. In ELL texts, "read" again appears in the verb list of "speak, read, and write." But the object of these verbs switches between English and a student's "primary language." Reading in a "primary language" is only discussed as a means of assessing Dual Language students in the ELL Procedures Manual: "If a student is deemed eligible for ELL services and is enrolled in a Dual Language program of instruction, CCSD must assess the proficiency of the pupil to comprehend, speak, read, and write their primary language." All other references focus on English, specifically "reading" as a manner of classification or reclassification of students into the ELL program. So in this context, "reading" is a skill the student must develop in order to help the school district better understand their level of English.

In the ELA standards, "reading" is linked to "comprehend" 31 times, as in the following examples: "read and comprehend complex texts," "read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently." For general ELA purposes, reading involves interpreting complex objects, but the specific goal of reading as it pertains to

the student is a bit vague. The Nevada ELA Standards Website states that "English language arts classes in schools aim to give students the tools to be effective communicators: readers, writers, speakers, and listeners." Overall, then the goal is communication on all fronts. But although reasons for writing are disclosed on the website, reasons to read are not. Instead, the focus is on how students are taught to read: "Students are taught to read by being trained in a variety of reading strategies and processes and are given numerous opportunities to practice their skills." In contrast to writing, this illustrates reading as intricately tied to the school experience, not to a world outside or a time after school.

"Listening" is the least represented in the content of the corpus, mentioned 149 times. In either ELL or ELA contexts, listening is rarely presented without another category connected to it. Most often, listening and speaking are discussed as two sides of one coin, as in "speaking and listening skills." In ELL contexts, it is the focus of not only ways to classify students, but also in classroom suggestions to teachers: "provide rich, contextual listening opportunities," or "emphasize listening skills and do not expect or force the student to speak until he/she is ready" are two examples from the ELL Procedures Manual. Interesting, there is a section in the ELL classification assessments where listening skills are tested directly, but listening skills are only indirectly tested in the ELA contexts. In ELA contexts, listening is never referenced on its own, but is always connected to other categories. In this way, listening is positioned through content use as a complement to other ways of using language, but not important in its own right.

The ideological stances that emerged through exploring the purpose of language in the CCSD texts are as follows:

- English proficiency is the goal of language learning at school for ELL students, and this is sufficiently measured by one test every year;
- proficiency has academic worth, but is unrelated to your life outside of school;
- listening is important as it pertains to speaking, reading, or writing, but on its own it has no purpose;
- and again, language is for reading and writing at school, speaking is for at home

Speakers of language. Language is used as a defining word, identifying and outlining groups within the school district. It is used to define group of students, as in "English Language Learner" (67 times) to define a group of educators, administrators, and staff, as in "English Language Learner program" (29 times). The word "speaker" is only used twice in ELL contexts, in the ELL Procedures Manual definition list, once to describe a "native English speaker" and then to describe dominant language as a "language with which the speaker as great proficiency." The rest of the references come from the ELA Content Standards and refer to a narrator or character, as in a "speaker in a poem." None of these references from ELL contexts or ELA contexts refer to students in the district.

To refer to language use, the texts use "bilingual" rather than "multilingual." "Bilingual" is used 46 times, to refer to requirements for the bilingual endorsements, to explain how to request a bilingual translator/interpreter, and to discuss the bilingual program of instruction. Interestingly, it is not used to describe speakers directly, but only through a mediator, such as describing the program that speakers belong to. "Multilingual" is absent from all of the texts.

However, the word "multilingualism" is used once in the corpus. It appears in the definition list at the end of the ELL Procedures Manual. The definitions listed here do not appear to be a glossary or to be connected necessarily to the overall procedures that are explained – it is a broad compendium of all terminology that is related to language and language learning, but the terms are not always referred to in the actual procedures. Such is the case with "multilingualism." It exists only in this compendium, and is not included in any of the instructive text. The definition given for "multilingualism" is the "ability to speak more than two languages; proficiency in many languages."

"Bilingualism" is present 4 times, but all of the references take place in the same definitions section of the ELL Procedures Manual. It is used in the definition of additive bilingualism, the definition of subtractive bilingualism, and in the definition of two-way bilingual immersion program. Again, however, it is not used in the actual instructive body of the Procedures Manual text.

After an extensive search for references to speakers of languages, there are very few references to actual students or people that emerge. The majority of references to people, as with "bilingual" or "English Language Learners" are not referring to individuals, but rather to large groups of students. Little attention is paid to the variance within these groups, even to a surface examination of the differing languages they speak. The ideological stances that emerged through exploring how the texts define speakers of language are as follows:

- members of the school community such as students, teachers, and administrators, are best described by large demographic categories
- and again, speakers are limited to two languages that they can speak.

Contrasts with World Language Texts. In the section above, I analyzed the ideological stances present in texts relating to the ELL program and to language learning in CCSD. But as a contrast, I have also analyzed the ideological stances in texts relating to "World Language" learning. I have analyzed the following texts:

- Nevada World Language Content Standards, and
- Nevada World Language Resource – Can Do Statements

These are the two texts that are parallel to the corpus of ELL and ELA texts I analyzed above. The Nevada World Language Content Standards are very similar in genre, structure, and purpose to the Nevada ELA Content Standards. However, the Nevada World Language Resource Can Do Statements are unique to the World Language texts. In purpose, they are parallel to the Content Standards, as they are assessment tools and academic benchmarks. However, the Can Do Statements are intended for direct use by language learners, and were created by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). They are self-described as "progress indicators for language learners." Unlike any of the ELA or ELL texts, the Can Do Statements have an intended audience of actual students, not just teachers or administrators. Although not directly written by members of the CCSD or Nevada community, their inclusion on the Nevada World Languages Website show an acceptance and encouragement towards the use of the statements by learners and teachers, as well as alignment with the ideologies constructed within the text.

They also use different categories to classify student language learning and "to reflect the continuum of language learning." The levels are listed as follows in the Can-Do Statements: Novice Low, Novice Mid, Novice High, Intermediate Low, Intermediate Mid, Intermediate High, Advanced Low, Advanced Mid, Advanced High, Superior, and

Distinguished. Having eleven levels shows a desire for nuance in classification of students. The Global Can-Do Benchmarks, which serve as a short-hand for the longer lists of statements, establish these classifications through five modes of communication: Interpersonal Communication, Presentational Speaking, Presentational Writing, Interpretive Listening, and Interpretive Reading. On the whole, the Can-Do Statements text pays more attention to language use outside of the classroom than the ELL and ELA texts, which all presented goals for students that were strictly academic focused.

The Distinguished level of student language skill connects four of the five modes of communication to culture:

1. Interpersonal Communication: "I can communicate reflectively on a wide range of global issues and highly abstract concepts in a culturally sophisticated manner."
2. Presentational Speaking: "I can deliver sophisticated and articulate presentations on a wide range of global issues and highly abstract concepts in a culturally appropriate manner, tailored to a variety of audiences."
3. Interpretive Listening: "I can understand sophisticated language humor, and persuasive arguments embedded with cultural references and allusions."
4. Interpretive Reading: "I can manage inferences from within the cultural framework."

Since Distinguished is the highest level of student language achievement in the Can-Do Statements, it can be seen as the goal of learning in this program. In the World Language Program, the highest level of language skill is intricately connected to an understanding of the culture that accompanies the language. Culture is not present in the benchmarks for the lower levels, which focus on "using single words or memorized phrases," "answering simple

questions," and "using a series of simple sentences." Culture does not explicitly appear until the benchmarks for the Superior level.

All of the words on the table below appeared in both World Language texts. The table shows a contrast between the most frequent words found in the ELL and ELA texts, as well as contrasts in their contextual use. The examples in the table were chosen as representative of the contexts the words appear in most often.

Table #8.
Most frequent words in the World Language corpus.

Word:	**Frequency:**	**Contextual examples:**
I	1442	*Can-Do Statements:*
		"I can communicate"
		"I can recognize"
		"I can identify"
		"I can understand"
		"I can read"
		Content Standards:
		"Category I languages such as Spanish"
		"French I course"
		"Latin I course"
		"total hours including Levels I and II"
can	1346	*Can-Do Statements:*
		"I can handle short social interactions in everyday situations"
		"provide evidence of what you can validate"
		Content Standards:
		"where the target language can be used"
		"Intermediate-High Learners can handle a substantial number of tasks"
language	468	*Can-Do Statements:*
		"reflect the continuum of Language Learners"
		"provide more opportunities for your learners to produce language"
		Content Standards:
		"writing system of the target language patterns"
		"learners use the language both within and beyond the classroom to interact and collaborate in their community and the globalized world"
understand	300	*Can-Do Statements:*

		"help learners to understand how what they write or say actually demonstrates that they have or have not met the goal"
		"I can understand" (majority of the examples)
		Content Standards:
		"students understand the nature of language through comparisons of the foreign language with their own language"
		"understand a few courtesy phrases"
topics	205	*Can-Do Statements:*
		"I can communicate on very familiar topics using a variety of words"
		"conversations about familiar topics that go beyond my everyday life"
		Content Standards:
		"These topics relate to basic personal information"
		"narrate on a variety of topics using appropriate media and adapting to various audiences of listeners, readers, or viewers"

In this table, the reiterations of concepts from the Can-Do Statements can be seen in the Content Standards. For "I," their usage is quite different – the Can-Do Statements are structured on "I can" sentence frames, but "I" only really appears as a Roman numeral to designate the level of a language class in the Content Standards. But for language, the Content Standards mirror the range of language use, in school and beyond: "learners use the language both within and beyond the classroom to interact and collaborate in their community and the globalized world." This is in stark contrast to the ELL and ELA texts, which positioned language as important solely for academic reasons. For "understand," the Content Standards explicitly connect understanding of one language with that of another: "students understand the nature of language through comparisons of the foreign language with their own language." This phrase the "nature of language" is also one that has not

appeared in other texts. It implies that there is a common heart to all languages, and that this heart can be comprehended by knowing languages to compare.

The ideological stances that emerged through the World Language texts are as follows:

- language learning is a nuanced continuum of skills;
- culture should be linked to language, but only at high levels of language learning;
- assessment of language learning should include input and reflection from the learners themselves;
- the purpose of language learning is for "within and beyond the classroom;"
- languages have a common nature, and learning more than one will help you better understand this nature; and
- learning a new language will help a learner understand their own language better.

The idea of language learning as applicable both in school and outside of school contrasts to the academic lens of the ELL and ELA texts. Also, explicit inclusion of learners in the assessment process of language learning is unique to the World Language texts. Although both sets of texts deal with ideas of assimilation, only the World Languages texts consider the positive effect of learning a new language on the students' other languages.

Conceptualization of Language

Through examining the content in the corpus, I was able to see *what* the texts are discussing. Now I will take a closer look at a few of the texts to see *how* they are constructing a concept of language.

The Nevada ELA Standards Website discusses their ideas of how people gain language explicitly:

> The study of English Language Arts begins before children even enter school. Young children listen and observe the words and interactions of those around them. They communicate at first without words but then, as they add language to their vocabulary, express their thoughts and needs with increasing clarity and precision.
>
> Adults communicate basic desires, and some make communication itself an art form.

This excerpt is a short summary of the language learning process as this committee sees it. They acknowledge that language learning does not start with school, but begins when future students "listen and observe the words and interactions." Inclusion of interactions shows an understanding of the social nature of language. They also acknowledge that communication can happen without words, but this is explained as a step in the learning process rather than a form of communication that may continue even when one can also use words.

There is a strange phrase in this sentence: "they add language to their vocabulary." This statement makes it clear that language is not synonymous with vocabulary, but leaves open the idea of how exactly these two relate to each other. If language is added to vocabulary, then vocabulary must be the larger concept/skill, and this also positions language as something to be acquired, but vocabulary as something that already exists within a person. As this statement follows from children listening and observing words and interactions, it also follows that words and interactions are some part of "language." Then, through the logic presented, all of that adds up into vocabulary.

In this manner, the text pays attention to language use at home, as a place where language learning begins. Of course, by saying that it *begins* in the home implies that it

continues elsewhere. After this first paragraph, the focus of language learning shifts to classrooms, and does not return to the idea of language learning at home or anywhere outside of school. This echoes the findings from the content analysis above. In a twist then, the text discusses listening and speaking, which were mostly actions connected to outside of school activities before, as essential to student classroom practice: "Listening and speaking skills first gained in the English language arts classroom are essential to helping students be active and strong learners in every other classroom and must be encouraged and practiced there, as well." A distinction is drawn between the listening and observing children were involved in at home and the listening and speaking skills that are "first gained" in the ELA classroom. These skills are positioned as the ones that will impact school learning, "helping students be active and strong learners." It also extends the necessity to practice listening and speaking outside of language learning classrooms, implying that there is language learning to be done outside of the English classroom. But this only extends to the school boundaries, not beyond.

The goals of the Content Standards are explicitly stated: "The Nevada English Language Arts Standards are intended to give Nevada children the tools and experiences that will help them not only to succeed in school but also to become lifelong and adept readers, writers, listeners, and speakers." The construction of this sentence is telling. "To succeed in school" is the first goal. "To become lifelong and adept readers, writers, listeners, and speakers" is the second goal. The first goal gives a context within which success will happen – school. The second goal implies a context through the use of the adjective "lifelong," but this is so wide open and vague that a direct context is hard to pin down. "Lifelong" could mean in work, in higher education, in everyday consumer interactions, in family interactions, or it could mean all of these. The contrast here is that the specificity of success "in school"

makes it clear that this is the context they care the most about. Other contexts are not given explicit textual space, but are hinted at instead.

Ideological Stances of Self-Identified Authors

In the content analysis, most of the texts were constructed by a committee. In fact, information on specific authors for most of the texts is unattainable. However, for the ELL Newsletter, the authors are self-identified. Interestingly, in this text, the ideological stances contrast with the unwavering stances of the committee-constructed texts. The authors do echo the stances of the committee-constructed texts, but also embark into uncharted territory. The authors often express stances that vary from or are in opposition to those that are embraced by the district. They interweave conflicting ideologies subtly as well as explicitly.

In the ELL Newsletter, two of the ELL Facilitators from an Area in the school district described a training on code-switching that they and their ELL teachers had attended. All emphases below are mine:

> "Code-switching was a particularly interesting subject as it applied a new definition to an old concept. Traditionally, code-switching was identified as a strategy in which English language learners moved back and forth between their first language and English using words and phrases from either that allowed them to express their thoughts. Code-switching provides insight into how the use of non-standard English is reflected in students' ability to write. The training helped participants focus on strategies to identify speech and language patterns. And, by so doing, teachers became better prepared to use this knowledge to strengthen students' ability to write proficiently for standardized exams. Code-switching also addresses the settings in which use of different registers of English are appropriate."

The facilitators begin with the definition of code-switching, positioning themselves as innovators through rhetorical turns like "new definition to an old concept" and "traditionally" as the counterpoint to what they will say later. But they include phrases like "non-standard English" which follows district discourse and places the English skills they reference as less than a mythical "standard English." Finding these examples of "non-standard English" in students' writing is the purpose of code-switching here. They use a positive, additive phrase like "strengthen students' ability" but this applies only to the ability to "write proficiently for standardized exams. The use of "appropriate" implies that there is use of English that is inappropriate, which means that besides "non-standard English," there are other ways to use English incorrectly.

They continue in the next paragraph, again working to establish the positive change teachers can implement through awareness of code-switching, but engaging with deficit language throughout. Again, the emphases are mine:

> "So why should we teach code-switching? All too often students' home vernacular crops up in their formal school writing. Teachers typically respond to this by using a corrective, or deficit, model (red pencil), which has not proved to be effective. Code-switching is a "difference" or additive model in that it validates the students' home language while identifying formal English language patterns and appropriate settings in which to use both. It develops students' awareness of, and attention to, language differences and choices; it has been found to be effective where correction has not; and research has shown an increase in students' writing achievement when contrastive analysis and code-switching have been used."

The second sentence negates the rest of the paragraph: "all too often students' home vernacular crops up in their formal school writing." Home language does not have a place in school, especially in writing, which was earlier established as the main way to *do language* at school. The authors continue on to talk about code-switching as a "difference or additive model" and that it "validates the students' home language," but the clear message in the second sentence is that home language has no place in school. Additionally, the phrase "all too often" implies that this is just not a statement of fact, but that it is a *problem* that home language is present in school activities.

Again, they use the word "appropriate" to talk about the settings in which students can use both language. But here is a conflict of stance again – appropriate can be tied to the explicitly mentioned "formal English language patterns" leaving home language as inappropriate for school settings. They address "language differences and choices," but since they have established that appropriateness is a factor in language use, there are choices that are right or wrong for school. This is not significantly different from saying there is a correct and incorrect choice. Their discussion of the effectiveness of code-switching in preparing students for writing in opposition to a "corrective or deficit model" is still situated within said model. Although attempting to distance themselves from a deficit model, which is staunchly embedded in the other district texts, they still reflect that way of thinking.

Ideological Shifts in the ELL Program

Individuals such as the participants can shift their ideological stances relatively quickly, due to personal experiences and relationships with others who think differently than they do. But, because they are socially constructed and maintained, institutional language ideologies take a very long time to shift. However, I noticed specific shifts in ideologies that

are currently taking place in the ELL program of Clark County School District (CCSD). In the next section, using multimedia analysis and discourse analysis, I looked at these shifts more closely, to see what this could mean for the ELL program and teachers such as my participants in the near future.

The Former CCSD ELL Program Website. On the CCSD main website, there is no mention of language directly. During the early spring when the ELL Program is testing students to determine their current English proficiency, there may be links to news articles on ELA testing results, but otherwise, language is not explicitly present in the website talk. The ELL Program website was separate from the CCSD website and did not appear in a website search of "ELL Program." What would appear were many transcripts of School Board meetings and directory entries for district level ELL administrators, which would be useless to parents looking for information about their student's experiences at school. It is an interesting omission for a district that is heavily multilingual. The audience of intent for the district website is therefore not really current parents, students, or teachers, who would need practical information not found on the website. The audience then may be politically based – people in the community or beyond who want to see whether CCSD is a place where interesting and innovative things are happening before they cast their vote for a school board member or hire an assistant superintendent away.

So in order to find information about language, and specifically about the ELL program in CCSD, a searcher must be savvy enough know such a thing even exists. Before its current change, the ELL Program website was last updated in May of 2014. It could be found at the following URL: http://www.ellp.ccsd.net. This URL has since been deleted, but

can still be accessed via an internet archive website called the Wayback Machine, https://archive.org/web/. The image that follows is a screen shot of the deleted website:

Figure #13. The CCSD ELL Program Website as of its last update in May 2014.

Everything on the website was split into boxes, some that are filled with color and text, but an equal amount of boxes that were white space. The basic layout was very simple. There was very little animation, and no videos or audio files. This varies from the school websites, which are usually constructed by a tech class of students, and therefore include all kinds of website design "bucket list" items like flash animation, pull-down menus, pictures, embedded videos, etc. But it is also different from the exceptionally professional design of the district website, which has been created by professional web design employees. This website was somewhere on a spectrum between the two.

The colors utilized on the page were either shades of blue (royal blue, sky blue, turquoise), or safety orange. This was a strange mixture since blues are usually considered calming tones, but safety orange is a color associated with warnings and caution. Taking up the most visual space on the page was a logo for the ELL Program. The image in the center

of the logo was of three interlocking squares, two of which had circles on top of them to make them look like heads. One of the squares was royal blue and the other a lighter sky blue. The middle square was safety orange and had a bell and steeple like a one-room school house on top of it.

Printed over the three interlocked squares were the words "EDUCATORS • STUDENTS • FAMILIES." Educators was in the sky blue color, students the royal blue, and families the safety orange. Interestingly, this created some dissonance between the colors of the squares. As those that work in a "schoolhouse," the sky blue Educators would be most likely connected to the schoolhouse square. But if matched by color, educators would be a sky blue people square, students a royal blue people square, and families the orange schoolhouse square.

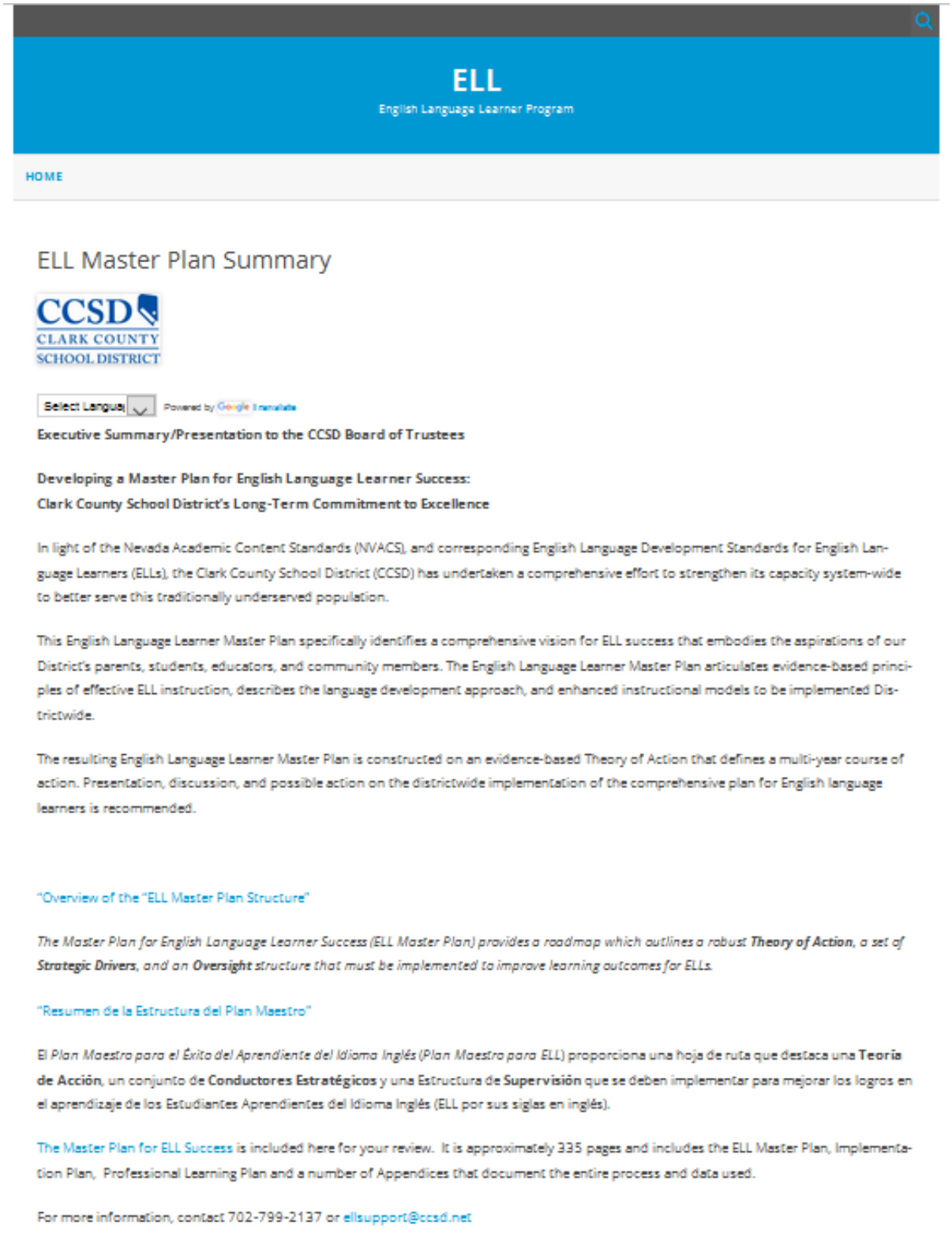
Around this large image, words were arranged in a circle, stressing the program's perception of inter-connectedness between the people listed. The top of the circle stated the program name again in safety orange, and the district acronym in royal blue, inside the circle above the schoolhouse steeple. Interestingly, this visual created a space where the district resided inside the ELL program, when in the reality of policy, the ELL program resides inside the district. The bottom of the circle were the words "BUILDING EXPERTISE" in royal blue, and underneath that, in sky blue, "WORKING TOGETHER TO BUILD A STRONGER FOUNDATION." The words echo the image of the school building, or maybe even the slight puzzle-piece look of the "people" squares in the middle visual. They resonate with a grand narrative of education as foundation to the good life as well.

The right and left columns of the whole page were similar except for language. The left side was in English, while the right side was in Spanish. They were giving the same options and information, on a light turquoise and gray background. English and Spanish are

the most frequently spoken languages in the Las Vegas community, and as such, they were presented as possible modes of communication. At the bottom of the page, below the fold, there was a selection button connected to Google Translate which allowed the reader to translate the website into one of ninety-one languages.

After clicking on the links in the right and left columns, the purpose of all the white space revealed itself. The white space was used for simple animation, so that when you press one of the menu options, the option title slid up to the top revealing the information you can read about that topic. The information was policy driven, and, although there was an option for "Information for students," there is nothing under that option. It did not come up as a 404: Server Error, or say that the page does not exist – it was simply blank. The website as a whole was not as professionally constructed as the district website, but was inclusive of multiple languages if you knew where to look. The website was aimed towards an audience of parents and teachers, but clearly not to students, or there would have been information for them.

The New CCSD ELL Program Website. Currently, as CCSD makes changes to their ELL Program, the website has also changed significantly. Its URL has changed to delete the "p" standing for program: http://www.ell.ccsd.net. Below is a screen shot of the website in its current iteration:



ELL

English Language Learner Program

HOME

ELL Master Plan Summary

CCSD
CLARK COUNTY
SCHOOL DISTRICT

Select Langua | Powered by Google Translate

Executive Summary/Presentation to the CCSD Board of Trustees

Developing a Master Plan for English Language Learner Success:
Clark County School District's Long-Term Commitment to Excellence

In light of the Nevada Academic Content Standards (NVACS), and corresponding English Language Development Standards for English Language Learners (ELLs), the Clark County School District (CCSD) has undertaken a comprehensive effort to strengthen its capacity system-wide to better serve this traditionally underserved population.

This English Language Learner Master Plan specifically identifies a comprehensive vision for ELL success that embodies the aspirations of our District's parents, students, educators, and community members. The English Language Learner Master Plan articulates evidence-based principles of effective ELL instruction, describes the language development approach, and enhanced instructional models to be implemented Districtwide.

The resulting English Language Learner Master Plan is constructed on an evidence-based Theory of Action that defines a multi-year course of action. Presentation, discussion, and possible action on the districtwide implementation of the comprehensive plan for English language learners is recommended.

"Overview of the "ELL Master Plan Structure"

The Master Plan for English Language Learner Success (ELL Master Plan) provides a roadmap which outlines a robust ***Theory of Action****, a set of* ***Strategic Drivers****, and an* ***Oversight*** *structure that must be implemented to improve learning outcomes for ELLs.*

"Resumen de la Estructura del Plan Maestro"

El *Plan Maestro para el Éxito del Aprendiente del Idioma Inglés (Plan Maestro para ELL)* proporciona una hoja de ruta que destaca una **Teoría de Acción**, un conjunto de **Conductores Estratégicos** y una Estructura de **Supervisión** que se deben implementar para mejorar los logros en el aprendizaje de los Estudiantes Aprendientes del Idioma Inglés (ELL por sus siglas en inglés).

The Master Plan for ELL Success is included here for your review. It is approximately 335 pages and includes the ELL Master Plan, Implementation Plan, Professional Learning Plan and a number of Appendices that document the entire process and data used.

For more information, contact 702-799-2137 or ellsupport@ccsd.net

Figure #14. A Screenshot of the Current ELL Program Website for CCSD.

The website now contains no pictures or images, but resembles a memo or a handout instead. At the top, it has a wide blue bar, with the acronym ELL in white san-serif print. Underneath the acronym is the title "English Language Learner Program." Underneath the bar is a small menu with only one option: "HOME." The page pictured above is the home page, and for now, this is the only information available through the website. In contrast to the older website, the Google Translate option is at the top of the page, making the option more visible than before. The text on the website is presented in English, and a selection of the text is reproduced underneath in Spanish. The entirety of the website is not immediately available in Spanish, although a user could use the available Google Translate option to translate into Spanish.

The website has now been subsumed into the visual language of the district website – more professional, no missing links, no strange graphics that could be interpreted in multiple ways. As such, then the intended audience has also changed. The website still does not appear in a search of the district website, so it is still only available through a Google search or manual typing of the URL. This means the audience is the same as the district website – not parents or students or even teachers, but those "movers and shakers" who may be making policy or political decisions in the school district or elsewhere.

The website is all one document called the "ELL Master Plan Summary." Interestingly, the term "master plan" comes from real estate or construction discourse, and is often used as the title of plans for physically building property. Here the Master Plan focuses on "English Language Learner Success," and no part of that is listed as property-based. Any interpretation of the choice of "Master Plan" is conjecture – it could reflect a changing attitude towards students as commodity, or it could reflect the timelines and deadlines

associated with construction. Regardless, the change in the website reflects a shift of bringing the ELL program to heel within the district's way of thinking.

Striving towards an additive model. If that is the case, it is interesting that the overall ideological stance towards language learning and language learners appears to be changing in Clark County. In two of the texts from the new wave of the ELL Program, there is a shift towards an additive model of language learning. In the first text, a website column called "Pat, Personally" written by the superintendent Pat Sworkowsky, Pat reiterates the goals of the ELL program as the district searches for a new Assistant Superintendent to be in charge of the ELL program.

> "When we place higher demands on our students, it is important that we also give them the tools to reach that potential. Nothing can be more true of our English Language Learner (ELL) students who, at many times, are working to meet standards without full command of the English Language. That is why we are working diligently to hire the perfect assistant superintendent to support our English Language Learners. This person will work to develop a strong program for this unique student population and help many of them appreciate and understand the value of being bilingual."

Here Pat is still working within the language of a deficit model: "without full command of the English language" implies that students are not in control of themselves. Also, the idea of being "in command" of a language situates language as something a speaker not only owns and has, but also controls in a military way.

However, his focus is not really on deficiencies of students. Rather the impetus is on the teachers and the administrators. It is up to them to give students "tools to reach that potential" and support them in meeting the standards. This connects to Sharona's own

frustration with herself at not being able to help a multilingual student as well as she thought she should. In the last sentence of the paragraph, he also says this new administrator will help students "appreciate and understand the value of being bilingual." As seen in the earlier texts, students are bilingual, not multilingual. The idea expressed here resonates with the desired validation of languages from the ELL Newsletter as well. The superintendent states explicitly that being bilingual is valuable, and that it should be appreciated by the speakers themselves. Since this is a short "puff piece" from the district website, there are no direct instructions on *how* exactly administrators and teachers will help students value their bilingualism, but the mentioning of it is a shift towards an additive model.

But just as with the ELL Newsletter, the superintendent also engages with deficit language when describing students and their skills:

> "It is essential that we hire carefully and move with a sense of urgency to ensure the success of our struggling students. We have many students who may not be second-language students, but who do not have the academic vocabulary and social skills needed to be "ready by entry" into our system. The approaches utilized with English Language Acquisition programs are solid, instructional strategies that can be utilized for students without academic vocabulary."

He describes students as "struggling" and as not possessing the skills that would make them "ready by entry" for the school system, and as "without academic vocabulary." The superintendent's main focus is getting the majority of students to pass the standardized tests from the state, so it is not surprising that academic vocabulary is really the thrust of his thinking here instead of life outside of school. In a district as large as Clark County, the superintendent acts as more of a politician than an educator or even an administrator, so much of this rhetoric is designed to show an important problem that his program is going to

solve. But it still taps into deficit thinking even after he established the value of bilingualism for students. The ideological conflicts here make it difficult to know where the superintendent actually stands on the issue.

But perhaps one of the lessons here is that there is no one ideological stance per person. The superintendent may strive for additive thinking towards language learning, but he still must advocate for the standards that are in place. The ELL facilitators, who wrote about code-switching which I analyzed in chapter 4, wish to find strategies that will help them implement additive practices into their interactions with students, but they cannot escape the idea that home languages get in the way of their own teaching goals. The co-curricular teachers shifted in their language atttitudes depending on what the particular focus of the conversation was at the time. Perhaps designating a person as holding one ideology or one attitude is a defunct concept.

But when the individuals are subsumed by a committee and by adherence to consistency through multiple edits, the ideologies present are one-dimensional and absent of conflicting views. In this case, a new text constructed by a committee may show an institutional shift in the systemic ideological thinking. The Master Plan Executive Summary, available on the ELL Program website, begins with a statement about the students they serve:

> "Nearly 20% of our students are considered English Language Learners (ELLs) – language minority students whose developing English proficiency affects their ability to fully participate and succeed in school. These students come with rich and varied experiences, enormous strengths, and immense potential, and Clark County is committed to helping them realize their success in school and beyond."

The word choices here are different from those in earlier texts. The authors still use the idea of proficiency, but they temper this by describing ELL students proficiency as "developing."

They also acknowledge the positive aspects and resources students are bringing into school. Also, as does not happen often in earlier texts, the authors explicitly state that the district is "committed" to helping students succeed beyond school as well as in it.

This attitude continues in the CCSD Vision for English Language Learners that is in the Master Plan:

> "In partnership with families and communities, Clark County School District empowers all English Language Learners by providing high-quality, rigorous, engaging instruction in a supportive and safe learning environment that values their cultural and linguistic diversity so that they graduate college- and career-ready as biliterate, productive, and global-minded citizens."

As the Master Plan emerges, it appears that there is an ideological shift happening in CCSD. What this will look like in practice is not yet clear. But that authors of district texts are beginning to deal more with conflictual ideological thinking as well as strive for an additive model shows that the future of language learning in Clark County may be about to change significantly.

Findings

Within the texts, I explored the language ideological landscape within which the co-curricular teachers worked and lived. Two key findings emerged in the analysis:

1) **The omission of multilingualism.** The texts refer to students as bilingual, and completely omit any acknowledgement of students who may know, understand, or speak more than two languages. This creates a dichotomy of languages – there is English, and then there may be a second language that a student speaks at home. But no more. This also leaves no conceptual space for ideas like linguistic varieties or different types of Englishes, such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

It defines language as nationally bound, as in languages that can be traced to a specific country on a map, rather than a speech community within a country.

2) **The separation of speaking and reading/writing by importance.** Through the ways in which the texts talk about potential uses for languages, speaking is framed as a way to use languages other than English. The preferred context for speaking languages other than English is at home, or at least outside of school. Reading and writing are the important ways in which English is used and valued in school. This also implies that languages which you may fluently speak, but not fluently read or write, are not as important to school as languages (preferably English) in which you can do all three equally.

Having established these two findings as the main ways in which language is inscribed in the textual world of district and state policies, I now turn to look at the language conceptualizations of individual teachers.

Chapter Six

Analysis of Participant Conversations and Concept Maps

Through analysis of the district/state texts, I have established that the Clark County School District and schools in Las Vegas, NV are operating within a deficit model frame. But the heart of this project is not about the larger school district, but rather the individual teachers that spend the most time in direct contact with students. It was important to consider what was not being accounted for by the district and state policies that were explored in Chapter Five. For this chapter, I focused on the third research question, which was at the center of my inquiry:

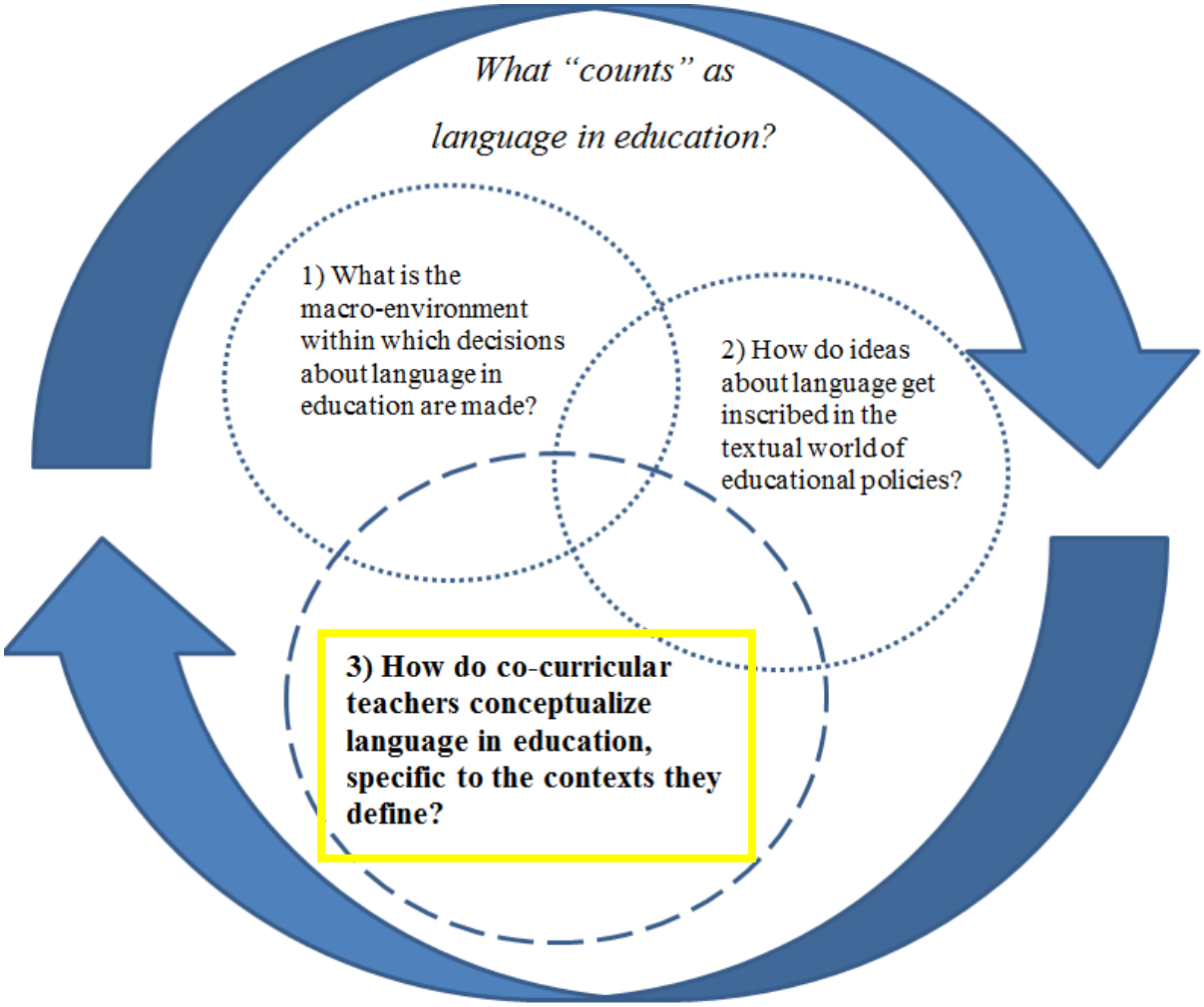


Figure #15 . Conceptual map of the research theme and research questions, showing directionality and relationality, and highlighting research question three.

Instead of going into a classroom to observe the practices co-curricular teachers engaged in, I talked directly to the co-curricular teachers about their thinking on language. Now I turn to interview data from the participants to gain deeper understanding of how co-curricular teachers conceptualized language, and the contexts those conceptualizations were situated within. All of the excerpts in this chapter come from the individual interviews with the three co-curricular teachers: Sharona, a theater arts teacher; Trevor, a band teacher; and Daniel, a Latin teacher.

It is important to keep in mind throughout the chapter that all three teachers were referring not just to the students they see during the school day, but to the time they spend with students after school as well. Again, there was little distinction made between school day and after-school for co-curricular teachers. The students were the same as well as the content. For Sharona, she talked of her acting classes and her technical theater classes – all of those students were involved in after school theater productions, approximately four every year. For Trevor, his intermediate and advanced band met during the day, after school, and often on the weekends as well, especially during marching band season in the fall and winter. For Daniel, a large number of his Latin students were involved in one or both of the after-school programs he ran: Junior Classical League (JCL) and Varsity Quiz (VQ). All three teachers were not restricting their comments to what happened during the school day – the time they spend with students is far more expansive than that.

I present the chapter in three sections. The first section covers the teachers' invocations of the language ideological stances from the district/state texts as emerged in Chapter Five. The second section covers the concept maps created by the participants during

our conversations. These concept maps speak directly to the third research question, on how co-curricular teachers conceptualize language. I present the maps themselves as well as key explanatory statements made by the participants about their maps. The third section covers the language attitudes that the participants discussed after or while creating the map. This section addresses the contexts defined by the co-curricular teachers as integral to their language conceptualizations.

Teachers Invoking Institutional Language Ideologies

At the beginning of the interviews, each teacher framed language in the same manner as the institutions they work for – that of subtractive assimilation using deficit model discourse. After asking the teachers several demographic questions about themselves, I turned the focus towards their students, and asked them what kinds of students they taught or participated in their programs. For all three teachers, the after-school programs they run are indivisible from their daily courses, and many of the students they see during the day are the same students they see in the afternoon or night.

Interestingly, when I asked what languages their students speak, all three teachers made the assumption that I was talking about students in the very beginning stages of learning English. My intention was to find out if they had students who spoke languages in addition to English, regardless of fluency or perceived competency. But the teachers all began by talking about students who were "non-native English speakers" like Daniel says, or students who "spoke no English," as Trevor and Sharona say. Each of their individual statements also contain a few commonalities: a denial of the presence multilingual students in the school as a whole, a revelation of multilingual students in their classes who speak other languages at home, but then a reiteration of the lack of ELL students in the school. Daniel described the languages of his students as follows:

are you referring to the languages they come in with basically
well at our school we don't really get a lot of
non-native English speakers
I do get a lot of people who have second languages at home
primarily
in no particular order
Spanish and Tagalog
or Filipino as it's now called I suppose
yeah I do see a lot of people who are dual language
dual language at home like that but
but no we don't see a lot of ELL population
not very many

Daniel made a distinction between "non-native English speakers," which he did not see at the school, and students who "have second languages at home." These appear to be two separate and unique groups in his explanation. He echoed the idea of bilingualism instead of multilingualism as was prevalent in the district/state texts. He also made another interesting distinction between "dual language at home" and an "ELL population." The difference he drew could be based on perceived linguistic ability or based on the receiving of linguistic services from the school system. Either way, Daniel restated the language ideological stances found in the district/state texts in the previous chapter, that English is for at school, and other languages are for at home, and the expectation of having a maximum of two languages.

Daniel's statements also illuminated the idea of visibility for the multilingual students at Lincoln High School. As established in chapter 3, very few students at Lincoln are currently classified in the ELL program, but many of them are multilingual. But because they are not receiving services, their multiple languages are invisible to teachers – Trevor explored this idea as well:

I always tell people I like Lincoln cause it's super diverse you know
and it's very balanced
it's not a lot of anything you know
I don't have a lot of white kids
I don't have a lot of Asian kids you know

they're all kind of mixed in you know
it's heavily Polynesian you know still
yeah yeah still a lot of that
but as far as languages go I mean it's
I only have a few kids who speak say like Asian
like Asian things and not
and maybe just a few kids who are Hispanic too
you know it's not a ton
and I think this freshman class was a little more
you know ethnic than like the previous ones you know
and I think that the area's changing a little bit
but all of them speak English very well on this side of town
I haven't had anyone come in that doesn't know a lick

Trevor connected language to race, initially intertwining the two as the same thing in his statement. However, he then decided that "as far as languages go," there was not the same kind of diversity in Lincoln. He did not list any specific languages other than English, and in fact was unsure what language his "Asian kids" spoke, although he did recognize that they spoke a language in addition to English. Echoing the ideological stances of the district/state texts, Trevor pointed out that the students he had that were multilingual "speak English very well on this side of town," as a contrast to the perceived norm of a multilingual speaker as someone who does not speak English well. He later contrasted this to students he knew when he worked at a middle school in Las Vegas:

I mean I had kids who didn't speak a word

Of course, the kids he had spoke words, perhaps just in a language other than English. But his students at Lincoln were different, because he has not yet had a student who "doesn't know a lick."

His revelation came surreptitiously, that Trevor does know of students in his class who may speak Spanish. That they might be multilingual was visible to him because of their appearance, but their multiple linguistic competencies were invisible in his classroom:

no I'm thinking of my two Hispanic kids who are really close friends in the

trumpet section
never
never
so I don't know if it's not spoken much at home or they only do it at home

Trevor emphatically stated that he does not hear any students speaking languages other than English in his classroom or after school. He would expect these two particular students to perhaps speak Spanish with each other, because they are both Hispanic, but he has never witnessed it. He assumed that the students probably do speak Spanish, and he positioned Spanish as a home language, as it was positioned in the district/state texts. The two options for why these students do not speak Spanish in his class at school both focus on home – that either they don't speak much Spanish at home, or that there is some kind of linguistic policing happening, so the students speak Spanish only at home. He says that he hears students speaking Tagalog "in like phone conversations with parents," but not during his class.

Trevor restated his earlier statement on the presence of multilingual students in his classroom based on some of the evidence he presented to me: "believe it or not, I don't see that much. I feel like I should but…yeah." At the end of his discussion on students, he realized that he does have multilingual students, but that they are not speaking languages other than English with each other in his classroom. He also did not receive any information from home about languages or from the school itself about the languages his students speak. Trevor made assumptions on the linguistic backgrounds of his students based solely on his own experiences with and observations of the students.

Sharona also talked about a lack of information from the school, specifically with her frustration at the lack of resources and guidance available to a specific student and to her as a teacher:

I had one girl come into my class last year that spoke no English
like none
zero English
none
and she had no one with her to help her
there was another student in class who spoke Spanish
and he helped her a little bit
but she truly did not understand anything that I said
and it was so hard and I asked for guidance
like what do you guys—what should I do here I don't know how to
I don't know what to do with this girl
I can't translate for her
I don't know how to speak Spanish
should I? sure yeah I should
so I can help things like that but I don't know Spanish
so I don't know how to translate for her
I don't know how to get her to understand things
she ended up not—she ended up dropping the school actually
her guardian that had brought her in talked to me a little bit
and I said you know I can send things home in English and you can help to translate them for her
but then it like never went any further
she didn't follow up and
I tried to send things home for her
and tried to explain to have someone go over it with her
but she didn't understand what I was saying
you know
even when I had the other student's say would you tell her to take this home [laughs] but
it just didn't
it was not good

Like Daniel and Trevor, Sharona also positioned this student as having "no English, like none, zero English, none." She does push the point home a little more than the other participants, perhaps in an attempt to make me as the listener really believe her assessment of the student's linguistic ability.

But other than that statement, Sharona told a short narrative of her frustration with not just the student but also the school and the guardian of the student. She asked for help from unnamed individuals at the school, and was either denied or ignored – her story was unclear

on the exact outcome of her attempt to get help, except to imply that she did not receive any. She also tried to work with the guardian of the student, but that "never went any further."

Sharona's story modeled not only the deficit thinking towards multilingual students as shown in chapter 4, but also deficit thinking towards teachers. Sharona was frustrated with those at the school who she reached out to, but ultimately she focused on her own lack of understanding as the problem in the interaction, especially her lack of understanding Spanish as a language. But this is just a shift of deficit thinking – instead of considering the student as the sole deficit, Sharona was also considering herself, the teacher, as a deficit to the interaction.

On the whole, when asked to describe their students, all three teachers engaged with the language ideological stances that emerged from the district/state texts in chapter 4. Through talking to the teachers, I also found that they did not view mutlilingual students who speak English with native fluency as students who speak another language. They equated "speaking another language" with "not speaking English." Additionally, or perhaps because of this equating, the teachers also did not see multiple languages in their classrooms, even though they each revealed that they did indeed have students that spoke languages other than English. There is some implicit definition in place for all three teachers of what a bilingual or multilingual student is, and the students in their classes, although shown to be multilingual through their own anecdotal evidence, do not fit that implicit definition.

But as we continued talking, and especially once they created their concept maps, the teachers stepped outside of those ideologies into conceptualizations that engaged their own experiences and framed language within the bounds or realities of their content, classrooms, and interactions. The next section will look at the concept maps and the explanatory statements that accompany them.

Concept Maps

During our conversations, I asked the teachers to create a concept map of their concept of language. The intention was to give teachers a focal point for their thoughts on a complex issue as well as to give us both something physical to refer to in the conversation. The physical presence of the concept map as it is being created gives both the participant and the researcher a point to explore from. The participants each created their own concept map, and all three are quite different in both the conceptualization they define and the visual they create.

Creation - Initial reactions to the process. For each of the teachers, beginning the concept maps proved difficult. In their initial reactions to the idea and the process they were being asked to engage in, they all expressed some level of mystification, and even slight reluctance. Before she jumped into the map creation, Sharona worked through this small conversation on her own:

> *to draw what it means to me*
> *now there's the trick*
> *okay*
> *hmm I"ll have to think about this*
> *what a weird thing*
> *I don't know how to draw language*
> *okay*
> *that's the whole—okay*

She expressed the feeling that this task was unknown to her. But she also understood that the unknowability of the task was an important part of the task itself. She had not thought about language visually before, but in the end, she concentrated solely on creating a visual of language with no words on her map. She did not talk while she drew, but rather laughed her way through most of the creation, at one point wiping away tears from her eyes because she was laughing so hard at the picture she had created.

Trevor was taken aback at being asked to draw, and like Sharona, was also unsure of what exactly he should do:

Elizabeth:
well here let's go to this
I have something for you to draw
Trevor:
oh damn [laughs]
--
oh gosh but
I've never thought of
okay
I've never thought of this
so what are some prompting questions

Just like Sharona, Trevor had a humorous take on the concept map at first. He swore and laughed, implying that this next step makes him uncomfortable on some level. As he began to draw, Trevor also revealed that he was uncomfortable drawing, and that he did not think visually. His concept map reflected more linear, list-wise thinking. He also explicitly stated that he never thought of this before, even saying "I haven't thought this hard in years" and then laughing again. Earlier in the conversation, he identified himself as a monolingual speaker of English, and this may be a factor in his lack of previous thought about language in his life. I had offered him some prompting questions, and at this point, he requested them to help himself out.

Daniel also laughed when beginning to think about his concept map, but in a slightly different manner than Trevor or Sharona. Both of their moments of humor and laughter were connected with a level of self-deprecation and unease. Daniel's moments of humor are in response to my offerings of prompts. For both offerings, I hedged to see if he has "enough of a start," and both times, he requested more prompts and laughed.

Elizabeth:
and I have some prompts if that's not enough of a start
Daniel:

a little more prompting would help yeah [laughs]
Elizabeth:
okay
so you can think about like the languages that you know
or that you use
and like where you learned them
and maybe like where or when you use them
Daniel:
okay
Liz:
is that good
for just a start
Daniel:
mmm no keep going
keep going [laughs]

Daniel hesitated when beginning his concept map just like Sharona and Trevor. But rather than focusing on his own perceived lack of artistic abilities or his own lack of forethought on the subject as they did, he searched for more information from me. After the above excerpt, I gave Daniel a few more prompts, and in the middle of those prompts he said "okay," drew the whole map in under 5 seconds, and jumped straight into an explanation of what he had created.

The difference between Daniel and the other two participants may be related to his own language experiences. Sharona and Trevor both identified as monolingual English speakers. Daniel's linguistic identification was much more complex – he did not state that he was multilingual or bilingual or monolingual. The closest he came to identifying himself linguistically was when he called himself a "necrolinguist." Two of the languages that he has fluency/competency/expertise in are "dead" languages – Latin and Ancient Greek. Later in the chapter, I will explore an experience Daniel retold to me when he was actually able to speak another language (Italian) he knew in a real life situation. But the bottom line is that as a language teacher, Daniel had considered the role of language in his life before this

conversation. His requests for more prompting were more about discovering my specific intention rather than a loss of immediate ideas on his part.

Maps and Explanatory Statements. The participants' initial reactions to the concept maps segued into their actual creation of their personal conceptualizations of language. Each of them asked for prompts, and to each participant, I gave the same prompts: what is language, what languages do you speak, where do you speak them, whom do you speak them with, what is the purpose of language, etc. The full list of prompts can be found in the Appendix. But even with the same prompts, each person created totally unique maps and discussed different ideas about language with common themes among them. They also embarked into contrasting ideological landscapes from some of the ideological stances they evoked when discussing students in the beginning of our conversations. I will present each map individually along with the explanations from the participants, in order to present their intended meaning without privileging my own analytical statements over their words.

Figure #16. Sharona's Concept Map.

Sharona: Language is "what you do". Sharona created her map using a blue pen that I provided, and she drew a picture of a scene that contained no words. She drew a person who is "me or anyone else" and "another person, they're sitting on the floor crying." Then there is another person on the right side of the page, with an arrow for an arm, who is "yelling at her." The picture also contains a rainbow, sun and clouds on the right side, and mountains on the left side. The person on the left with arms spread wide is "singing to the mountains."

Sharona summed up the meaning of her drawing and its connection to language in the following manner:

> *basically the thing that when you say draw to me what it is that language for me is more of a--*
> *it's not what you say it's what you do*
> *it's your it's your*
> *it's how you behave not how you say it*

Sharona challenged the idea that language is all words and sentences, and in her conceptualization, posited that what you do is more meaningful than what you say. She continued to explain this as it represented by her picture:

> *obviously pointing a finger is something that is angry*
> *whether they say I love you or not doesn't matter*
> *because saying I love you while you're yelling at someone is not*
> *I mean it's a juxtaposition*
> *it's not the words I love you it's what you're doing*
> *so saying I love you doesn't mean I love you*
> *saying I love you in this instance means you're bad you did this wrong you're duh-du duh-du*
> *and this person over here is going*
> *come on it's okay it's okay*
> *it's gonna be fine*
> *so that's what it means*
> *just the body language the gesture*
> *that means more than*
> *like this gesture [open raised hands] means there's sunshine behind those clouds*

For Sharona, language is not what a person says. What a person does shows their meaning much more than the words they say. As a theater teacher and director, for whom physicality and creating real interactions in a false environment is a central aspect of her professional life, this attention to "what you do" is a recurring theme throughout our conversation.

It is also in direct opposition to the district/state text ideological stances that she appeared to be evoking earlier in the conversation. Sharona's conceptualization of language is interaction based, and also engages with the complexities in constructing meaning through language. She introduced nuance of meaning, intention, and interpretation to language, and the ability of people to construct these nuances through gesture and action. This also goes beyond the idea of language in school being mostly written or read – Sharona's conceptualization shifts focus to the construction of meaning through the combination of speaking and doing. Of course, Sharona concentrated her map on language in life rather than

in a specific context like school, but regardless, her conceptualization shows an attention to the physicality of language, and the importance of this physicality towards meaning-making.

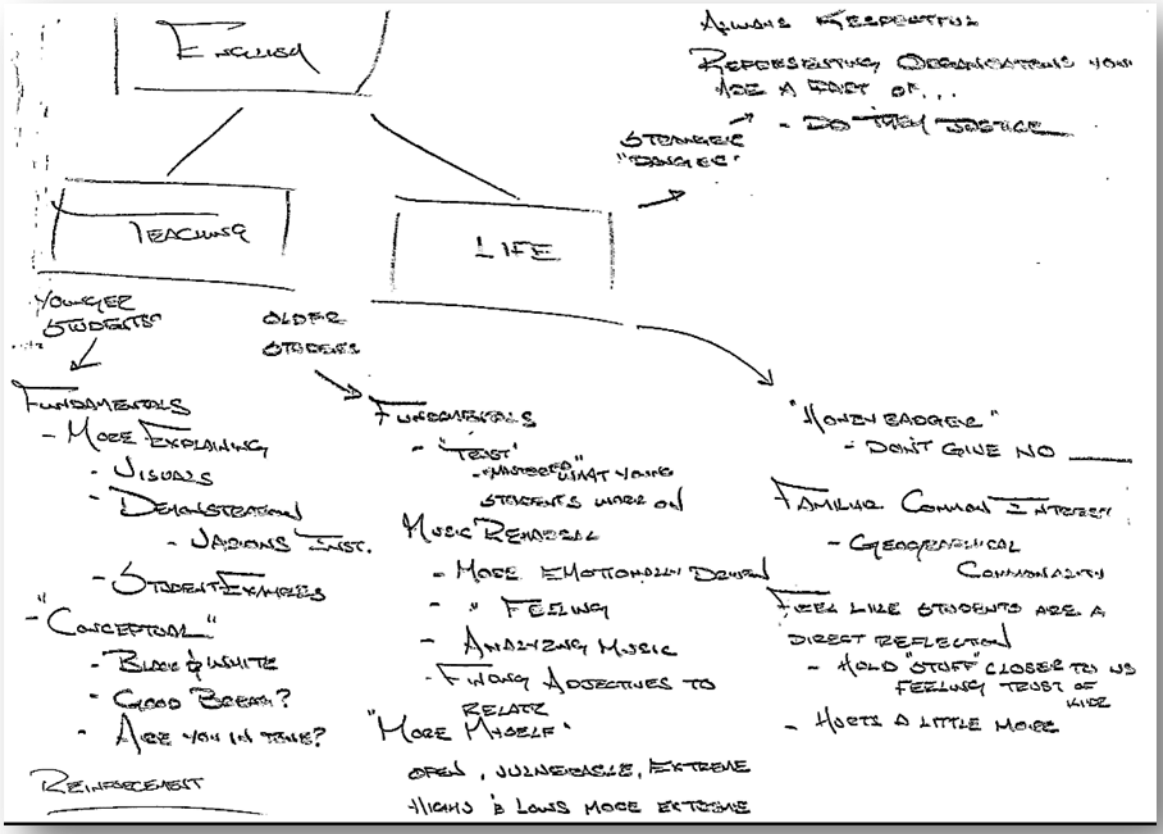


Figure #17. Trevor's Concept Map.

Trevor: Language is interactional. Trevor created a linear outline of his conceptualization of language based on the manner in which he interacts with different people in his life. The only language he represented on his map is English – even though he learned French in high school and said that "it stuck with me really well," he did not represent it on the map. This could be because of how little he gets to interact with others in French and his own feelings of fluency in the language:

> *I think I just had a really positive educational experience in French but*
> *so a lot of that comes up but*
> *not really no I don't speak anything obviously nothing fluently except English*
> *and even that's semi-fluently [laughs]*

He joked that he doesn't "speak anything obviously," obscuring his own identity as an English speaker or a French speaker, and he even joked that he doesn't really speak English fluently either. Since his mother is from Yorkshire, England, this could also be a reference to the differences between American English and British English, but he did not specify if that was what he was referring to. He then split English into two contexts: teaching and life. On the concept map, he used the most space to explain the context of teaching, and off to the right, connected by arrows, he placed his thoughts on the context of life. Trevor did spend most of the conversation talking about the teaching context. Although he did discuss his interactions with his fellow band directors later, he did not see a real distinction between language in teaching and language in his life:

> *if we go into life*
> *as far as how I use language in that*
> *it's*
> *I don't know*
> *I don't have a life outside of band*
> *[laughs] let's just be real*

For Trevor, even though initially he separated teaching and life, he found that there is no separation between the two. He ended up differentiating language based on who he was talking to in the realm of band: younger students, older students, and other band directors.

Trevor focused on interactions with people, especially his students, in the two different bands that he taught. At the time of our conversation, he was teaching an intermediate band, which consisted of mostly freshmen, and an advanced band, which was 10-12 graders. He summed up the distinctions between interactions with each age group as follows:

> *it's more*
> *would it be conceptual*
> *is that is that the word I would use for younger students*

more
it's more doing
because like in the upper band we talk about feelings
we talk about what is this part of the music saying what does this do
in the lower band we don't
it's more of you know
how do you make a good sound on your instrument so

Here Trevor echoed the same idea as Sharona – that his language with younger students is about what they do. But unlike Sharona, his focus is not on defining language as doing, but rather seeing the outcome of language as the knowledge of what to do.

Trevor focused on the content of the interactions he had with each group. With the upper band, the older students, Trevor talked more about feelings. He also said that he "trusts them a little bit more," which means that they know "what they should be doing." He clarified that his interactions with the advanced band as a whole are "more thoughtful" and "much more emotionally driven." For the younger students in the intermediate band, he said it was "more black and white," as in "are you doing this correctly or are you not – did you take a good breath, are you in tune." Since he focused on the content of the interactions for both groups, and the differences in the content he would be attempting to communicate, he conceptualized language as interaction based, and influenced by the characteristics of those he is speaking with.

As he described it, the content in an interaction is also based on the relationship and the expectations he has for each group. He knows he can "trust" his advanced group to already understand that which he must now communicate to the intermediate group. Trevor spends four years with all of his students – their entire time in high school – so when he conceptualized interactions with students, he did not describe anecdotes. Instead he described the four-year goal of interactions with an entire group, showing both that he is thinking of long-term interactions as well as the social nature of his teaching. Later in the

chapter, I will explore Trevor's ideas of group identity creation in more detail, but the idea that the goal of his interactions with students are not about individuals, but rather about a larger "band culture" is a foundational part of his language conceptualization.

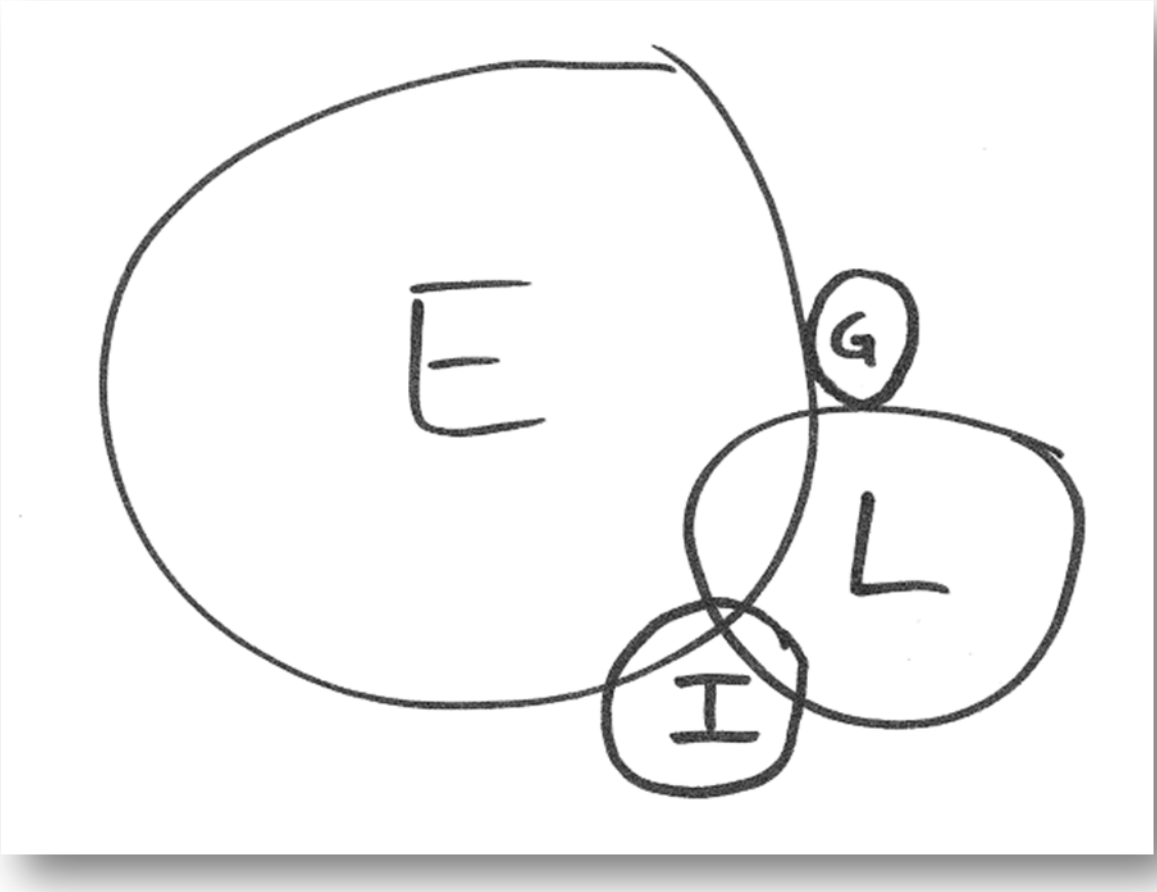


Figure #18. Daniel's Concept Map.

Daniel: Language is about "use". Out of the three participants, Daniel was the teacher who had already dealt with language as a concept. He was a Latin teacher, and had many thoughts about the role of Latin in academic life as well as the role of languages generally in his own life. He drew his concept map very quickly, and then explained it to me immediately after creating it. Daniel drew a Venn Diagram of sorts, of intersecting circles representing the languages he knows. The differences in size of the circles themselves had meaning to Daniel:

what matters here is the size of the circles
the largest circle by far is English
and then off to the bottom right of that I have a circle about half the size of Latin
the thing is that the overlap is probably I would say maybe ten to fifteen percent of the English circle
and that's simply because in terms of spoken language
in terms of using the language
it's a commonality I have with people

Daniel, like the others, focused on spoken language. This is a point of interest based on some clarifications he makes about Latin and speaking later in our conversation. The size of the circles represented how much he used that particular language. English, as the language he used the most, has the largest circle, but Latin, which he used second most, has an overlapping circle with English. This meant that he had cause to use English and Latin together, and it also represent that there were "many people that I know who also know it as well." So the overlap represents the opportunities for usage he has, which he quantified through the people he interacts with in those languages.

He also drew a smaller circle for Italian, which he described as his only other spoken language besides English:

I do have then a smaller circle overlapping both of those
representing Italian and the usage of that
certainly I have when traveling I will use it
I will use bits and pieces with a few select others
I don't have really an Italian speaking community that I deal with here very much
but I do happen to have one good friend who is native Italian that I will occasionally throw out a little bit with
certainly when traveling I use a lot more of it
and then you know little bits and pieces with the family who you know have little bits and pieces but not the full thing
because it is within my heritage

Italian represents a connection to heritage for Daniel, but because he does not have a community to speak with, he described his knowledge and use as "bits and pieces." This shows that unlike Sharona, he conceptualized language based on vocabulary, grammar, and

linguistic structure knowledge rather than the nonverbal physicality she presented. He conceptualized language as a "full thing" composed of these "bits and pieces" that one could obtain and use without knowledge of the whole.

The other smaller circle which he drew "adjacent to English and Latin" is Greek, but his usage of this is constricted "only as an off-shoot and I only use it in educational settings." The Greek that Daniel knows is ancient Greek, which was a part of his Classical training. It does not overlap with the other circles because Daniel does not have a real purpose for his knowledge of ancient Greek that would connect to the other languages or speakers. In fact, he says:

> *It's just not something that I'm fluent enough in*
> *or for that matter that anyone is truly fluent enough in*
> *not ancient Greek*
> *I mean if I were to run into a modern Greek speaker I wouldn't have a clue*

As presented through his concept map, language is about usage, especially who you can use it with. Perhaps his attention to others that know a language comes from being heavily involved in a "dead language," which not many people know in the United States. It is interesting that he began by framing the languages on his map as spoken languages, since a later theme he centers in on is the unspoken nature of learning Latin, and the difficulty some students have with that. But he did change this frame, correcting, "in terms of spoken language," to "in terms of using the language." Daniel conceptualized language as a thing to be used in interactions, focused on a fluency that is about usage and opportunities for usage. It would be easy to say that he conceptualized it as a tool to be used, but "tool" is not quite correct – for Daniel, it is more of a skill or a way of thinking, an epistemology, that one can use in various contexts.

Language Attitudes – Influences and Ways of Thinking

All three participants defined language in their own way. Sharona conceptualized language as "what you do." Trevor conceptualized language as interactional with groups of people. Daniel conceptualized language as a way of thinking or interacting to be used by individuals. Each of their maps and conceptualizations represent their individual attitudes towards language. But as they talked after constructing the map, their conceptualizations grew more complex, as they explored the contexts within which language appeared to them. They incorporated several common themes into the conversations, such as:

- language as connected to teaching,
- language as or connected to content,
- language as inclusive practice,
- language as group membership practice,
- acknowledgement of ideologies that differ from their attitudes, and
- language and content outside of school.

These themes directly answer the third research questions, but further explore how their conceptualizations relate to their teaching, what influences their language attitudes, and how aware are they of those influences. I address each theme, along with supporting statements from the participants.

Language as connected to teaching. The first theme that emerged is language as it connects to teaching. I did ask each of the participants directly how their concept map and their conceptualization of language connected to their teaching, so it is not surprising that they all addressed it. What was unexpected was their attention to the social aspect and

construction of language through teaching. Trevor discussed his overall thoughts on teaching as a way of explaining his thoughts on language:

> *cause I picture teaching as a grand like social experiment*
> *you know what I mean*
> *it really is*
> *you're in front of these kids and you try all these different things and you kind of see what sticks and doesn't work*
> *and you just kind of learn from it*
> *you know let's try this this year*
> *let's try this this year*
> *and then hopefully ten years down the line it's like*
> *now we've I've kind of tried a lot*
> *I know what's going on and*
> *you know*
> *still keep doing that*

In this statement, he not only addressed the recursivity of teaching practice, but, in that this is an explanation of language as it connects to teaching, he also addressed the changing nature of language as well. If teaching is a "grand social experiment," that means it is always changing, as he explains, and a large part of that is the language he uses in interactions with students. Through the statement "see what sticks and doesn't work," Trevor also implied that there are right and wrong linguistic choices he can make as a teacher, but the overall tone of the statement is one of multiple chances. If he interacts with a student in a way that did not "work," he can always try another way of communicating another time. And he does not present the onus as solely on him – this is an interaction between him and the students, and they have a role to play in the construction of their language together as well.

It is important to remember that Trevor has the same students for all four years of high school. They enter his program as freshman and exit as seniors, and he interacts with them every semester, even in the summers during band camp as well. So he was not only implying that he can just try again with a new group of students next year – he can try again with the exact same students the next day, week, month, or year.

Because of the longevity of his relationships and interactions with students, Trevor acknowledged the influence that time has on his relationships with each class. Although he had not considered his broader thoughts on language, as seen in the concept map explanation, he has considered how he uses language in front of his students, and how that use makes him feel:

> *I think every teacher thinks about their language when they're in front of a kid*
> *you know what I also feel like*
> *I'm more of myself in front of my older students*
> *and I don't know if that makes sense*
> *it's a little more kind of like*
> *I could be more honest you know*

Trevor presented honest emotion and being "more of myself" as important results of successful language use with his students. This is something he is able to do with his older students, who are not just older in age to his other students, but have known him for longer. The more interactions he has with a group, the more they get to know each other, and the more he can use language in a way that feels like an "honest" representation of self to him. So language for Trevor is also a way of knowing others, and of presenting himself over time.

Daniel addressed his own purpose as a teacher as not separate from language, but as more than just language:

> *I guess it's just that I feel compelled as somebody who*
> *as somebody who craves knowledge all the time*
> *and sees the benefits of studying things just to study them*
> *and understanding things just to understand them*
> *I like to instill that in other people and*
> *and language a little bit*
> *but more than that really the culture that goes along with it was something I was always passionate about*

Perhaps without realizing it, Daniel touched on the idea of languaculture (Agar, 1994), when he connected language with culture. For him, it is that which he considers culture in connection to language that is his passion. This is an interesting extension on his

conceptualization of language as a way of thinking to be used – it clarifies that point to mean that language is indeed a way of thinking and doing for Daniel, if it is so closely connected to culture.

He also stated that his motivation for teaching, the drive behind it, is to share the "benefits of studying things just to study them, and understanding things just to understand them." Although he is a language teacher, Daniel stressed throughout our conversation the differences between teaching a different world language and teaching Latin. These statements sum up the differences – the reason to study Latin is to study Latin, and the reason to understand Latin is to understand Latin. It has no practical use in the world outside of school – Daniel pointed out several times that you would not speak Latin as you would another language. So for Daniel the connection between language and teaching is both obvious – he is, after all, a language teacher – and obscure – but he teaches a language that his students will not use, even though he conceptualized language as centered around usage.

He did explain this conundrum succinctly, connecting language and teaching within the bounds of what it means to teach Latin:

> *when I teach students to translate I always tell them to*
> *not think of it as a language where you ingest in one language and spit it out in another*
> *but it's more a puzzle*
> *where you lay your pieces out on the puzzle and see how they fit together before you put them all together*

Teaching Latin is not about teaching students a language they will speak, or even communicate with. Teaching Latin as a language is about working at a puzzle, about training your mind to think in a certain way, and to see the ways in which pieces of the language fit together. It is a discipline, and Daniel used this word to describe it as well. Both Daniel and

Trevor found connections between their teaching and language, but they each saw these connections through the lens of the content they taught.

Language as or connected to content. The second theme that emerged was that of language connected to content. Trevor connected language and his content of music through metaphors. Sharona connected language and theater through the continued idea of physicality and langauge as doing. Daniel, whose content is a language, connected language use to his content through discussing the ways in which students would use the language he taught them.

Latin is a unique language, especially because it is technically dead, or was considered dead. Daniel explored what it means to be teaching a language that is not spoken:

> *and you know the spoken curriculum is a very small part of it*
> *because anything we do with spoken Latin is contrived to a degree*
> *it's our suppositions about what is correct*
> *because we don't have record of it*
> *and it's extremely dialectical*
> *I mean one thing I've noticed that's fascinating is that*
> *your Latin speaking voice really depends on where you learned it and who you learned it from*
> *regional*
> *dozens of regional Latin dialects within the United States and then from people who've learned overseas as well*
> *we have an estimation of what it sounded like in antiquity*
> *but we don't know for sure*
> *and that's just not the focus*
> *the focus up until recently was on translation*
> *but we've kind of peeled that back to degrade it a little more and include some spoken and a little more reading competency*
> *being able to actually use it*
> *rather than strictly translating Caesar and Cicero and being the reason that the language died the first time*

The purpose of learning Latin is not to speak it. But even though he is adamant that speaking Latin is not an important part of his content, Daniel explored the idea of spoken Latin anyway. His exploration adds to his conceptualization of language as socially constructed as

well. Since Latin died out, there is no continued legacy of how to speak it. Because of this, Daniel has noticed that different regional groups speak Latin differently – it has dialects, or perhaps spoken varieties. By extension, this would mean that there is no standard of spoken Latin. This is not to say that there is no speaking part to his Latin content. But he stressed that, because there is no standard, the speaking part is very small. He did implicitly define "use" as speaking and reading – those are the methods to "being able to actually use it."

Sharona's definitions of language use are much more focused on the actions that accompany words. In fact, her content is more about the physicality and the actions than it is about the words at all:

> *I always tell kids that*
> *especially in theater because your*
> *your meaning of what you do is far more important than the words that you say*
> *but it's how you say the word and what you do when you say it*
> *so language is through physicality*
> *language is through your action*
> *not just your words*
> *the words mean something but the language happens when you put an action or an objective with it*

For Sharona, language is an action – "language happens." This fits precisely with her conceptualization of language as she explained it with her map. The connection she made between language and theater is presentation and action based. She stated that "the words mean something" but her content is not just about the words. Her content is about how to convey meaning through physical action while you are saying words – this combination is language for Sharona.

Of course, there were different types of theater content that Sharona taught. In the above example, she referred to language as connected to the content of acting, through defining it as action and "doing." Below, she referred to language as connected to the content of theater tech:

for technical theater it's more
the language becomes more the language of terminology and vocabulary
as well as the language of sound
meaning what they hear
like you can—
we're working right now on a sound unit
and what I'm having them do it create like a radio play
so everything they create has to be created through their words or making a sound effect
we're not going to see it
they're just going to read it
so you're not going to see it on stage
which means you're not seeing what's happening
so the vocal and the sound effects have to become the language of it
it has to become the most important in order to create the visual picture
you have to create the language first before you can see the picture

In technical theater, there are new terms and vocabulary to be learned, so the content is much more centered on words than the acting content was. But regardless, Sharona has constructed a way to make this more word-heavy content still focused on what you do. She has the technical theater students creating radio plays, giving them a chance to explore not only the vocabulary they need in technical theater, but also the "language of sound" through the creation of sound effects. The purpose of creating the sound is to "create the visual picture" – on some level, Sharona was still having students focus on physicality, just this time on physicality that you created with sound and imagination. Sharona had shifted the action itself from doing to creating sound, but the concept was still the same – language is not just the words, but rather what you do (in this case, what sounds you create) to give meaning to it.

Sharona also stated that context is important in giving meaning to words and creating language:

but it's like those words are things that are used in technical theater to create different design work
so those kinds of things you know
most of the words are familiar to them
but not necessarily familiar to them in the context that they're used to hearing them or seeing them

Elizabeth:
okay
so context is important then
Sharona:
yeah

Many of the "new" words students learn in technical theater are actual words they already know. But in the world of technical theater, these familiar words take on new meaning. Sharona used the example of gels – it is a word that students have definitely heard before, but in this context, it means the colored piece of plastic that is placed in front of a light to create different lighting effects on stage. Strike was another word – certainly the students were familiar with the word, but without the knowledge of their content, they would not know that it meant to take apart the set after a show was fully completed.

Trevor also used words that the students already know, to help them more fully understand the content. He stated that during listening exercises, students are encouraged to connect language to the music, and use language to describe what they are hearing:

so when we listen to it
we analyze it and then we're like what
you know what does this say to you
what do you think
or draw
we do like draw like in this chunk of music two adjectives that kind of describe it
so then they see it while they play it and kind of
we kind of get on the same page and so like
finding adjectives
to relate to music

In this way, language acted as a bridge, building meaning between the music itself and the players. Trevor also used language in this way to help all of the students "get on the same page" – working together and understanding as a group is a common theme of his. He presented this as very important to learning his content and presenting the content as well.

Trevor also described music as a language, as a way of meaning-making and communicating a message:

> *and we study music like a language too*
> *you know notes are your syllables*
> *and then you have phrases that are your sentences*
> *and you have the movements that are paragraphs and*
> *so we try to like I said kind of analyze that in the top group*
> *like what is it trying to say*
> *what's the message*
> *you know and it's slow at first the kids are just like*
> *uh it's happy*
> *fuck [laughs]*
> *yes but what else*
> *the power of "yes, and"*
> *I learned that in college*
> *yes, and what else*
> *you know dig deeper*
> *does this trigger any memory*
> *does this remind you of your grandparents*
> *does it you know do anything like that and why*

The way he described language in the beginning of the excerpt echoes Daniel's idea of language as pieces. But whereas for Daniel, those pieces can be put together in a puzzle to be solved, for Trevor, the pieces add up into a message to communicate a deeper meaning. Trevor expressed frustration at the difficulty students have with this process at first – they give him only one word answers when he is searching for a longer narrative like a memory.

For all three teachers, language and content are inextricably linked. Daniel saw the connection quite literally, since he is a language teacher. But he also explored Latin's purpose as an academic language, and what usage it serves as content in a world where it is not spoken. Sharona connected language with both an acting curriculum and a technical theater curriculum, in both cases as a way to create meaning beyond just words said on a stage, perhaps looking to differentiate from "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing" (Shakespeare, 1603/2003, p. 286). Trevor saw language as a metaphor

for music, especially in the comparison between grammatical and syntactical structures in language and form in the musical sense, which includes harmonic and melodic constructions.

Language as inclusive practice. The third theme that emerged is that of language use building towards inclusive practice. By stretching the boundaries of their content, Sharona and Daniel both explored the use of language for inclusive practice in their classrooms. Language was a way to not only make sure that all students could learn the content, but also a way to create more understanding between students. Both teachers focused on different ways of thinking about language as a method of creating more inclusive environments for Deaf and Hard of Hearing (DHH) students. The DHH program at Lincoln High School was one of two programs in the entire district, and the students in the program were placed in mainstream classes as much as possible. The DHH students were always accompanied by American Sign Language (ASL) interpreters, some of whom acted as advocates for their students as well.

Sharona had worked with a student from the DHH program in a previous production of *The Miracle Worker*, where the student played Helen Keller and, as it is in the script, signed all of her lines in ASL. Sharona stated that that particular production had been a big success for her theater program, in no small part due to the excellent performance of the DHH student. So when Sharona was preparing to direct a musical production of Rogers and Hammerstein's *Cinderella* at Lincoln High School, she wanted to include the student in the cast, and she told me the following story:

> *when we did Cinderella and I told her I wanted her to audition*
> *she said but I can't*
> *and I said why not*
> *and she was like well because I I can't talk*
> *and I said oh yes you can*
> *and she went well I mean but I I sign*
> *and I went yeah and your point*

well I mean how are you gonna do it
and I said you let me worry about that
you need to audition
and so she came and auditioned
and when she auditioned she asked me you know how do you want me to do this
and I said I want you to sign it
the whole thing
and if you have
she had a translator with her
they can say the words for you as you sign them
whatever those words are
I mean try to go with the script but
I know that in sign language the words are not exactly the same so that's okay
she can translate it word for word the way you're saying it it's fine
and then I had a student read opposite her
so a male student responded to her sign language
and when they did that audition I was like oh my gosh
this is amazing…
and I think that was probably one of the most challenging pieces that I came across
because it was new territory for me as well
but it was something that I was determined to make happen and make right
because I knew that it was possible

By opening up the boundaries of what it means to speak in a play, Sharona was able to include a student who otherwise thought she could not participate. Because she defined language as what you do, it was an easy shift to consider ways to incorporate the physicality of ASL into her musical production. In fact, for someone like Sharona who conceptualized language through action and gesture, the appeal of ASL is palpable, as it is a language built on gesture and action, with no spoken words.

For Sharona, a large aspect of this experience was challenging herself as an educator and as a director to figure out how to incorporate another language into the production, and this task was not simple, nor accepted by all of the students:

for them it was in the end I think they all really got something out of it
I had one girl that refused to be Cinderella's voice so she dropped out of the show
and I found another girl that would do it and wanted to do it
and so they all learned a little bit about tolerance
they learned a little bit about other languages
they learned how to communicate with someone who doesn't speak your language

and a little bit about what it meant and what you could do to communicate without words

Obviously, since she replaced a student, not everyone was on board with the new direction and the inclusive practice Sharona was instituting. But on the whole, Sharona felt very positive about her inclusion of ASL in the production, as a way to include a student who spoke another language, but also as a way to teach her English speaking students about other languages and the potential they have in the same content and context.

Daniel also commented on the connections between ASL and Latin, and his desire to create a classroom that was inclusive of those students as well:

of course we are one of the two Clark County schools that has the DHH program
so we do have some ASL kids
but I haven't had any of them in Latin yet
we're actually trying to work on that for the future because we think it might actually be a better fit than some other languages
but that's still in the works
Elizabeth:
how do you think it might be a better fit than other classes
Daniel:
well primarily because it's not a
primarily spoken language
it's something that
our focus is on reading and understanding
and you know the spoken curriculum is a very small part of it

Daniel believed that the Latin classes may have been a better fit for the DHH students, given the parallels between ASL and Latin. They are both non-spoken languages, and according to him, their structures are similar as well. Interestingly, Daniel's de-emphasis on speaking contrasts with the findings in the district/state texts that the focus of language usage in school is already on writing and reading as opposed to speaking. But he was in search of a way to include students in his classroom that he thought would be beneficial to them, and more helpful than an English language class would be. After all, if the students were not going to

speak the language anyway, they might as well study a language that has no context within which is should be spoken.

Daniel's ideas of inclusive practice extended beyond the DHH program students. He stated that Latin is a language that those who are mathematically inclined can find success with:

> *you know that's one of the reasons I think that students*
> *who don't excel in other languages work well in Latin sometimes*
> *because we're mathematical*
> *if you're a good math student*
> *which I'm not*
> *I don't get that*
> *but if [laughs]*
> *if you're a good math student who doesn't really take to language in a spoken way*
> *Latin works for you because it's more of that*
> *quick piecing something together*
> *and it's more of a problem-solving experience*

In this case, the appeal of Latin is its de-emphasis on speaking in combination with the puzzle conceptualization he explained earlier. Daniel saw Latin as a language that is a good fit for those who do not consider themselves to be good at languages. In this way, his content can spell success for students who otherwise struggle in language classes. Students of all abilities can find a home in Latin according to Daniel. Students of all languages, especially ones that embrace physicality, can find a home in theater, according to Sharona.

Language as group membership practice. The fourth theme that emerged was that of language as a way to create, sustain, and reflect group membership. It can be viewed as the opposite idea from inclusive practice – in this case, language use is meant to set a person aside from others, and define a person as part of a group. But at the same time, language use here is focused on representing and being a part of a group, so perhaps it is not such an opposing idea after all.

An essential idea to Trevor was that of reflecting the characteristics of the group you belong to through your language use. As a band director, one of his tasks is to create solidarity in a group of students, and cultivate a band persona that the students will be attracted to and wish to emulate in their lives outside of band as well. Of course, as Trevor pointed out earlier, there is no life outside of band. For him, the idea of organization representation through language began in college:

> *so I'm part of fraternities*
> *was part of a fraternity and it's like*
> *I'm not religious in any way shape or form*
> *but it's like I almost feel like you're representing what you do*
> *like I feel like when I'm a teacher I represent NAU*
> *you know and it's like*
> *I respected that organization a lot*
> *I don't want it to look*
> *I don't want to look bad*
> *you know what I mean so it's*
> *and in every sense of the word I don't want to look bad*
> *in front of strangers you know*
> *and it's not like high anxiety or anything like that*
> *it's just like you want to be respectful*
> *and try to represent yourself the best you can*
> *I don't do the religion thing*
> *just higher power I don't get it*
> *but it's still having morals I guess*
> *you know and you're a teacher*
> *you don't want to walk into someplace*
> *have someone find out you're a teacher and you're a dick you know*
> *cause then that makes the whole teaching realm look bad*
> *and it's already bad enough*

Trevor stated that when you are acting within the bounds of a certain group, you are representing that group. He presented it as a personal responsibility to represent the groups you belong to well, in order to not "look bad." He explored the idea from his own experience as a teacher, but he also explored the idea in his expectations for his students and their language use and actions:

> *the kids are a direct reflection of us*

you know and if something doesn't go right
it hurts us
probably more than it would any other regular teacher

Trevor was on both sides of this issue – he strived to be a good reflection of the groups he is in, and he felt the consequences when his students did not reflect the group that he is at the head of with enough respect.

Trevor also recognized the contrast between his students and his colleagues, as different but similar groups he belonged to. He especially drew a distinction between the language he used with his student group and the language he used with other music teachers:

I almost feel like teaching music
we're around the kids so much
spend so much time
it's almost like you know when you let loose a little bit
it's way shorter amounts of time so it's more extreme
and I don't know if
that makes me feel kind of bad saying it
I feel that's kind of what we do
you know it's like
as music teachers we're very extreme
and I guess when it comes to language it's like
you have to be so careful what you say
cause one wrong word in a rehearsal can just tank it
so you know in life it's like
we don't give a shit [laughs]

Because music teachers are not only teaching students content, but also creating a group persona, they have to be very careful in the language they use during rehearsals. When Trevor referred to "one wrong word" tanking a rehearsal, he meant that students can get distracted by something you say, or take the wrong meaning from it. So then in their interactions with each other, his music teacher friends are very coarse – they swear a lot, they jokingly insult each other – precisely because these are the types of interactions they have so little time for due to the nature of their job. Their interactions are "more extreme." As someone who spent time with the music teachers Trevor is talking about when I worked at

Lincoln high school, his characterization of their interactions fit with what I had observed during that time.

Daniel also cultivates a group persona in Latin, but he represented this group persona as being created by the nature of the content itself, rather than him as the teacher:

> *you can expect that a larger percentage of the students who take it are in it for the right reasons*
> *they're the type of students who really are in it just to learn it*
> *you don't happen into taking Latin*
> *I mean it does happen sometimes but you know*
> *people with misconceptions of it who think it's Spanish or whatever else*
> *you know those things do happen but*
> *you generally have people who are interested in it but if you don't you get them*
> *they cycle out of it pretty quickly*
> *and your dedicated core students*
> *the ones who really care about it*
> *and it's kind of about*
> *this sounds so bad*
> *we're a little cult you know and it's*
> *Latin has always been one of those cultish cliqueish things and when you're in it you're in it*
> *and you know we're very much in it as a unit*
> *we have our own little family*
> *our own little clique*

Here Daniel has created a dichotomy: there are students who, like him, understand Latin for what it is, and there are students who only understand it through the lens of other languages. His reference to "Spanish or whatever else" showed that the wrong reasons to take Latin would be if you think of it like any other language. Daniel talked at length about the complexities of speaking Latin – he is trying to make this point again in a different way.

But it is because Latin is not like other languages students can study at school that the group persona of Latin students is so strong – so "cultish, cliqueish." From Daniel's perspective, group membership is based on the nature of the language of study, not on the personality of the leader, as it was for Trevor.

Acknowledgement of ideologies different than their own attitudes. The fifth theme emerged when participants acknowledged ideological stances that differed from the language attitudes they were exploring. Often, they presented an ideological stance in order to show how their attitudes contrasted from it. For example, when creating her concept map, Sharona made the following statement:

> *it's because I think that our*
> *you know we we have such a concept as human beings*
> *that language is only what we say*
> *and it's so not true*
> *I mean and you can't*
> *language means nothing without without what someone does*
> *it means nothing*

She presented the ideology that "language is only what we say." Although she did not use the word ideology, she attributed this concept to "we" "as human beings." Her acknowledgement that this concept is a widely accepted way of thinking is akin to acknowledging it as an ideology, without using that specific vocabulary. Then, in stark contrast to this ideological stance, she explicitly stated that it was "so not true," and presented her concept of language as an opposing view, that language means nothing "without what someone does." Sharona was aware that many, many people think differently about language than she does, but this does not cause her to waver in her own conceptualization. Instead, it causes her to double down on her own thoughts.

Daniel dealt with a specific person who had differing beliefs from him about the study of his language in particular. As a classics teacher, he told me that he often runs into people who are confused about what he teaches, and that try to define his discipline in ways that are incorrect:

> *because outside of me they really had no one who understood what the Classics meant*

yeah I mean I famously had a principal who was absolutely insistent that we're a classical school because we read the classics
and by the classics he meant any book that anybody had ever read
I mean to him
he actually said James and the Giant Peach was a classic
and I'm like
yeah
perhaps it is
but it's not -- [laughs]
there's a discipline here that's something specific

Daniel's principal in this case did not acknowledge Daniel's perception of what a classical education. In fact, Daniel presented the principal's ideology as totally confused. First of all, the principal conceptualized classical as "reading the classics" – this means that classical study is literature based, instead of based in a specific kind of language learning, as Daniel has established. But the real problem for Daniel is in the definition of classical texts. The principal appears to reject any idea of a canon in literature, opening or dismantling the canon to include "any book that anybody had ever read." Of course, for Daniel, reading the classics would mean reading texts in Latin or ancient Greek, which *James and the Giant Peach* is not written in. Daniel acknowledged that the principal has a different way of thinking about literature, which may be fine, but that it does not fit with his conceptualization of the classics as a discipline.

But Daniel's largest acknowledgement of language ideologies different than his own come through when discussing beginning Latin students:

when I teach Latin ones [students in the Latin I course]
you know one of the first things I do is go through the
you know we're not going to learn airport Latin
this is not going to be
you don't get to speak it
you know you don't get to speak it and say mi nombre es Miguel
dónde está el baño
we don't do that
and so yeah that's

and that's the frustrating thing for students in the first year of learning is that they don't get
you know they want to run before they can crawl first
and you know you have to kind of you know
you have to kind of think like a first grader again
you know think like when you first knew
look at dog
dog is cute
you know that was all you had
and they have to kind of piece it back to that instead of
cause if you just work out of a Latin dictionary and start
start taking words you're going to come up with something that just doesn't work

Again here, he contrasted the study of Latin to the study of Spanish. Learning Spanish in school represents one way of thinking about languages for Daniel – learning language to speak it and use it in every day contexts. But studying Latin is not the same. Daniel again presented the different ideological stance – that language learning is about speaking and everyday use – as a distinct contrast from what he believes. He also acknowledged the frustration students have when they realize how learning Latin is going to be. Here Daniel added to his ideas about language as a puzzle, thinking about it as a linear learning progression ("run before you can crawl") where you must have all of the pieces (vocabulary, tense rules, grammar, etc.) before you can begin to solve the puzzle.

In contrast to the beginning of our conversations, where the participants echoed the ideological stances of the district/state texts, seemingly without knowing it, here they purposely stated an ideological stance in order to disagree or distance themselves from it. Sharona stated the ideology of language as words in order to show her opposition to it. Daniel stated the ideology of language for speaking and everyday use in order to show his conceptualization of Latin as a different beast altogether.

Language and content outside of school. The sixth theme that emerged was that of use of language and content outside of school. Even when I asked them about langauge in

their lives outside of school, all three teachers kept returning to language in school. This could be because of the extensive amounts of time they each spend at school with students – as Trevor said, band "is my life." The co-curricular teachers did not make many clear distinctions between school and life where language was concerned, possibly because there is no distinction there to be made.

Daniel stressed many times the academic nature of Latin, so when he talked about language outside of school, he talked about his own use of Italian:

> *I had not had the chance to use a language being a necrolinguist*
> *I hadn't had a chance to do anything with my*
> *you know like other people I don't get to travel and use it*
> *and I didn't get to do that until 2012 when I first visited Italy*
> *and that's that allowed me to use some of it*

For Daniel, the important part about his use of Italian in Italy was two-fold: first, in contrast to his ability to use Latin out in the world, and second, that use is defined through speaking. Daniel here identified himself as a "necrolinguist," meaning that the languages he knows are dead, or no longer spoken. For him, then, being able to speak a language he knows besides English with other people was a unique experience. Again, Daniel positioned the purpose of language as "for use," and "use" appears to be strictly spoken. This fits with his earlier statements about learning Latin as a discipline, more than it is learning a language, since you would "use" a language by speaking it.

Trevor covered the purpose of language outside of school in a few comments he made about the takeaway from band:

> *the takeaway I think from band more than anything musical is that*
> *they learn to work towards something that really doesn't matter*
> *you know like marching band*
> *there's these kids on the field*
> *a hundred kids working towards this field show*
> *that really doesn't matter afterwards*
> *but it means so much to them*

you know what I mean
so it's like I feel like they learn to work together
and they learn to do that
and a lot of students that go through regular school—
it's changing
you know more group centered work is the thing nowadays
but it's like
it's always been that way in band

Here Trevor echoes some of Daniel's thoughts, that the purpose of his discipline is not really about learning content. But whereas for Daniel the purpose is to think differently about a task, for Trevor the purpose is about learning how to interact with others. Trevor has already set up his concept of language as highly interactional, and here he points to "learning to work together" as the central purpose of band. What Trevor feels he is teaching is to "work towards something," and the something itself is not what's important. It is the process, having productive interactions with your fellow group members that leads towards an end result. But his true goal for students is to travel through this process, not to have a successful band season. Trevor also acknowledged that he sees other parts of the school shifting to take on group centered work, but that "it's always been that way in band."

So distinctions between school and outside life are mostly nonexistent for the co-curricular teachers. But through examining language use outside of school, Daniel explained more clearly his opinions on the purpose of learning Latin. And through examining his goals for students once they leave band, Trevor clarified the importance of interactions, and therefore language, between students in his program.

Findings

The participants expressed varied ideas about language in our conversations. Within those ideas, they laid out their personal attitudes about language, as well as the ways in which they conceptualize language in education, and the influences on those conceptualizations. I

reiterate some of the key findings from my conversations with the participants that speak directly to my research questions:

1) **When discussing types of students, teachers echo the ideological stances of their institution.** All three participants exhibited deficit model thinking of both students and themselves as teachers when discussing the languages their students speak. But when they began to talk about language as a concept, as a more abstract idea, they defined personal attitudes that conflicted with the institutional stances they had just so recently echoed.
2) **Co-curricular teachers who do not teach language learning had not previously considered language as a concept.** Only Daniel had ideas already prepared about how he thought about language. Since he taught Latin, he had already considered what language was and how it incorporated into his teaching. Sharona taught theater which works with language directly, but would not be considered by the school as a language learning class. Although she came to a conclusive explanation about her concept of language, she took some time to think and consider before she explained it to me. Trevor, who taught band, hedged around his concept, and explicitly stated that he had never thought about this before.
3) **Co-curricular teachers acknowledge the social nature of language use and construction.** All three of the conceptualizations of language that the participants presented focus on the social nature of language. Sharona focused on the importance of physicality in language to actually make meaning that others can understand. Trevor focused on interactions as the purpose of language. Daniel focused on language as a way of thinking that will inform interactions and the ways in which people use language.

4) **Co-curricular teachers view language through the lens of their content.** All three participants thought of language not only as it applied to their content, but as it existed within their content. For Sharona, this meant attention to physicality in combination with words. For Trevor, this meant thinking of music as a language, as a way of interacting with your group and making meaning together. For Daniel, this meant considering language as a process, as a puzzle that can be solved.

5) **Co-curricular teachers see language as a gateway to inclusive practice.** Both Sharona and Daniel addressed the inclusion of Deaf and Hard of Hearing students in their classrooms. They view the incorporation of ASL into their classrooms as a way to include all students, and to help students understand more about communication and languages as a whole.

6) **Co-curricular teachers conceptualize language as a way to both define and represent group membership.** Trevor stated that people represent the groups they are members of through the way they talk. He also sees the actions of his students as a reflection of his own actions and language use. Daniel presented Latin students as a group based on the unique nature of learning Latin as a language. This difference in language learning and group members' passion for all that Latin represents defines what it means to belong to a Latin learning group. This conceptualization also connected back to Agar's (1994) idea of *languaculture* and to Gee's (1999) concept of social languages.

7) **When co-curricular teachers presented an ideological stance knowingly, they presented it in order to show their disagreement with it. When co-curricular teachers presented an ideological stance implicitly, they did not distinguish between it and their own personal attitudes.** As in the first finding, co-curricular

teachers do engage with the district/state ideological stances when they discuss the languages their students speak. They discuss those stances implicitly, seemingly unaware that they are drawing on larger ideologies. But when they do present ideologies directly and knowingly, it is to stand in opposition to them.

8) **Co-curricular teachers do not distinguish clearly between language in school and language in life. They also do not distinguish between their life at school and their life outside school.** Because of the amount of time co-curricular teachers spend with students due to the nature of their content and job, they do not separate their life from school. In this way, they may differ from other content teachers whose jobs do not require so much after-school time. They also do not make any distinctions between language at school and language in life. The slight exception is that Daniel talks of speaking Italian outside of school, but even his discussion of it is based in contrast to Latin as his school language, and he was with other Latin speakers on his trip as well.

All three participants engaged deeply in the conversational process, asking questions of me and sharing their complex thoughts openly, taking time to think through what they were saying and shifting their attitudes when they rethought particular statements they had made. Overall, the teachers expressed the importance of the roles that language plays in their teaching and in their lives simultaneously, through the many contexts they presented. They presented language as complex, social, and essential to the learning and interactional process, not regardless of content, but because of it.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

In the course of this study, I found situated explanations for the research questions I set out to explore. Within the macro-context of Nevada and Las Vegas that shifted between scarcity and wealth, I explored the language ideological stances present in the district and the state through texts that were intended to convey such information to teachers, parents, and the general public. In this final chapter, I review the findings from the previous chapters, as well as address the implications made for individual teachers, for teacher education programs, and for further research (theoretical and methodological).

Review of the Research Questions

I focused on the following three research questions for this study:

- What is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made?
- How do ideas about language get inscribed in the textual world of educational policies?
- How do co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in education, specific to the contexts they define?

For each of these questions, I have found explanations that fit within the context of the co-curricular teachers I worked with. I will address each question individually based on the data described in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. As the other two research questions were designed to lead into this question, I will spend the most space discussing the findings of the third research question.

What is the macro-environment within which decisions about language in education are made? The macro-environment of the state of Nevada and the city of Las

Vegas represent frequent shifts between overwhelming wealth and equally overwhelming scarcity. These shifts were seen especially in the census data, which showed not only the financial shifts taking place over time, but also the population shifts. Population shifts as drastic as those in Las Vegas affected the educational policies and planning taking place, which includes policies about language.

How do ideas about language get inscribed in the textual world of educational policies? For the most part, the ideas about language that were inscribed in the texts analyzed here were situated within a deficit model. English was considered the sole language appropriate for school, and writing was the manner in which communication was expected and practiced. The findings in Chapter Five support the claims of others, specifically of Ovando (2003) – the policies explored here are certainly emblematic of the dismissive period – and Ruiz (1984) – that language is situated as a problem in educational policies. In the current changes taking place in the ELL Program, there did seem to be ideological shifting, turning away from the deficit model, and towards one that treats student languages as additive.

But ideological change takes time. But as Corson (1999) discussed, policies could be written top-down, but they are enacted through discourse and interaction which is in the hands of the teachers. When the focus was narrowed down to look at specific teachers, the teachers were found to be conceptualizing language through a different lens than the textual world.

How do co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in education, specific to the contexts they define? Co-curricular teachers conceptualize language in several ways, but all of the ways they formulated deal with social meaning-making at some level. The theater teacher, Sharona, conceptualized language as something you *do*, where words are

inextricably linked to accompanying physicality. The purpose of language in her conceptualization was to make yourself understood, and to make meaning that most closely represents what you truly wish to say.

The band director, Trevor, conceptualized language as interactional, and as a way to represent your group membership. The purpose of language in his conceptualization was to conduct a "grand social experiment," constantly changing the ways in which he interacted with students based on the ways they interacted with him. It was also to create meaningful group interactions, and his view the process of interacting was much more important than the particular outcome the group worked towards.

The Latin teacher, Daniel, conceptualized language as a way of thinking and doing. Daniel defined the purpose of language as "use," although what "use" meant changed by language. For spoken languages, "use" meant spoken in everyday interactions, but for Latin, "use" meant reading, writing, translating, and understanding the language for the language's sake.

Each of the teachers connected their conceptualization of language to their teaching through language's relationship to their content. Language was a central part of conveying their content to students. It also served as a method of inclusive practice in their classrooms, as a way to include all students and to make all students aware of linguistic difference. Language served as a method of creating, defining, and sustaining group membership in their various contents, and as a way to represent the groups they belonged to. It also served as a release from teaching, especially in interactions with other teachers of the same content, as described by Trevor.

As far as the textual world of district and state policies were concerned, the co-curricular teachers were not aware of implicit language ideologies when they agreed with

them. If they agreed with a stance, they presented it as their own attitude, not as a larger ideology. However, if the ideological stance was one that the teacher was in opposition to, then they stated the stance directly, illustrating not only their awareness of the stance as an ideology separate from their personal thoughts, but also awareness of their own attitudes. They were, however, aware of other influences on their language attitudes, and parsed these influences out with clarity.

The influences on the co-curricular teachers language attitudes were largely experiential. Daniel described his experiences trying to speak Latin with other Latin students, which led him to believe that Latin was no longer meant to be a spoken language. Daniel also described the experience of traveling to Italy and finally getting to feel like he knew another language that was not considered "dead," leading him to think more closely about the purpose of learning Latin.

Sharona's production of *Cinderella* with a DHH student in the leading role caused her to reconsider how she could use language in her theater program, and how to incorporate different languages into future productions. Her positive experience with ASL in *Cinderella* led her to put on a production of *In the Heights* this spring, a musical that shifts almost equally between English and Spanish, meaning that Sharona's cast is majority bilingual.

Trevor's daily interactions with students who question his choices and also strive towards perfection in a marching show caused him to continuously change the ways in which he talks to students. His experiences as a former band student caused him to think carefully about how he would want a band director to speak to him, and now he considers that in student interactions as well. Trevor's bawdy and extreme interactions with his fellow band directors also influence him to separate a little bit more between school and life, even though he feels no separation between the two.

Implications

The most important and new finding in this study was the realization that the co-curricular teachers are conceptualizing language in a completely different way from the school district. The implications of the findings I discussed earlier are far-reaching as well. I will address the implications based on the contexts that might most benefit from their understanding – individual teachers, teacher education programs, and for further research.

Implications for teachers as individuals. As discussed in chapter two, the ways in which teachers interact with students makes a positive or negative difference in the experience students have at school. Therefore, if a teacher has a negative view of a language that a student speaks, this might be reflected in their interactions. For teachers as individuals, the implication is clear: actions have reactions, and actions have consequences, for teachers and students. Being self-aware of the influences on language attitudes may help create more positive interactions with students. It is important to recognize that not only students are affected by negative interactions – they take a toll on teachers as well. With awareness of language attitudes comes an awareness of the types of interactions teachers are engaging in. From there, teachers can reflect on whether those are the types of interactions that they intend to have, for their own professional growth and personal satisfaction.

Implications for Teacher Education Programs. The teachers in this study did not necessarily have any training in language learning. What they did in this study, however, is engage with the process of reflection. The participants reported that they had never thought about this before, and had revelatory moments throughout the process. The implication for teacher education programs is to provide opportunities for reflection on personal experiences, and personal attitudes. It may be that this process helps teachers be more aware of the actual attitudes they have towards language than a lecture on languages in schools or some such

activity. Providing teachers with the opportunity to have a revelatory moment can potentially be far more fruitful.

Implications for Further Research. The gap in the literature, the assumption that teachers conceptualized language in the same manner as the institutions within which they work, was proven inaccurate. Through direct talk about the subject being studied (Briggs, 1986) and the use of concept maps (Novak & Gowin, 1984), it was found that the co-curricular teachers conceptualize language not as ethno-nationally bound, traditional languages as their school district uses for ELL program and demographic purposes. The co-curricular teachers in this study revealed that for them, language was social, interactional, and a way to show group membership. They framed language as a way to communicate content, as a way of interacting that students would need to learn in order to discuss content and be a member of their speech community. Without the focus on their individual thinking from the use of the concept map and the direct addressing of the research topic, this may not have been revealed.

What Counts as Language in Education

The initial interactional problem I noticed as a teacher has not disappeared. Teachers do indeed have attitudes towards language that influence their interactions with students, for better or worse. Being aware of the language attitudes you have a teacher may not be enough to improve your interactions with students, especially if your attitudes embrace the deficit model that is so prevalent in the discourse of districts and state education systems. But even within deficit thinking, shifts can be made to strive for positivity towards languages in school, to strive for an additive model of language learning.

The co-curricular teachers in this study, who spend so much time with students, had not considered their own language attitudes before. But when they did, they began to look at

what they believed about their content, their classrooms, and their students through the lens of language. And through this, they revealed hidden influences that they were able to dissect and question. Through the process they engaged in with this study, they became more aware of their own attitudes towards language and the ways in which those attitudes might influence their interactions with students. They conceptualized language and interactions as central to creating a group of students, rather than teaching individuals. They acknowledged that they work in language. That they use language. And as such, language is an important part of their teaching, as well as their content. Perhaps if more teachers who teach all kinds of content connected with their own concepts of language as well, the additive model would not seem such a far stretch.

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Appendix #1.
Conversation Protocol Outline

These protocols are intended as a starting place. I plan that they will change as the participant shows me more about their world, so that I may ask more specifically tailored questions.

1) Demographic/Introductory information	
How old are you?	What's your educational background?
Where are you from? Where did you grow up? Where have you lived?	How long have you been teaching? Where have you taught? What have you taught?
How do you identify ethnoracially?	How long have you been teaching at your current job/placement?

Ethnographic Interview	
2) Questions about being a teacher:	**4) Questions about Language Stances:**
What influenced you to become a teacher?	How do you communicate with other teachers? How do you communicate with your students?
What is it like to be a performing arts teacher? What is it like to be a Latin teacher?	What languages do your students use at school? At home? What do you think about their language use in school?
How did you come to teach at this school? What is it like to teach here?	*Thoughts on school examples of language ideologies, for example*: program from the For Trevor and Sharona: PA Dinner – music as foreign language – can you tell me more about that? Why is that in the program?
What is your job? What do others think your job is?	Does your school have any language policies that you're aware of? What do you think of those policies? Do you use them in your classroom or in your teaching?
3) Concept Map Procedures:	
Have the participant create a concept map centering on the idea of language in their life. It is important to let the participant lead the concept map with as little prompting as possible – the purpose is to see what language in their life means to them and what they'd like to talk about.	
Basic idea:	**Prompts:**
a visualization or kind of a map of language in your life	so you can think about… the languages you know or use, where you learned them, when/where you use them, with whom, why is this different for different languages?

What experiences in your life have influenced the way you think about languages?	personal political professional
language you use in your classroom	What influences the language you use in your classroom? Is that different from other parts of your life? How do you include your thinking on languages in your planning?